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ABSTRACT

Two propositions formed the basis for the study described in this report: (1) that the institutions of mass media and education have not adjusted to cope with the problems of newly formed cities or with urban disintegration in older industrialized cities, and (2) that marginal urban groups have a need for greater control over their lives and the use of community media is one way this basic need can be met. An introductory chapter provides a rationale for the study (a product of the urban community media project of Unesco), defines terms used in the study, summarizes the characteristics and functions of community media, suggests desirable criteria for community media, summarizes the internal limitations of community media projects and the external constraints on them, and concludes with a short essay on the historic context of urbanization. Nine case studies covering developments in Africa, the Arab World, Australia, Trinidad and Tobago, Europe, India, Japan, Latin America, North America, and the Philippines are then presented. The case studies cite examples of places where a more equitable distribution of power in urban communications has been achieved. A concluding statement and lists of proposals for related activities, future activities, and further research on this topic complete the report. (RBW)

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MEDIA FOR PEOPLE IN CITIES

a study of community media in the urban context

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P.M.L., London

PREFACE

Urban community media* have been a subject of Unesco's activities in the past few years as part of the Organization's overall efforts to promote access to and participation in the media. A study of community media in North America and Europe was published in 1977 (Access: Some Western Models of Community Media, edited by Frances Berrigan), and in October of the same year, a meeting of experts was held in Belgrade, to discuss the theme of Self-Management, Access and Participation in Communication.

It was for this meeting that Josiane Jouët wrote the working paper 'Community Media and Development' to which reference was made in subsequent meetings and studies. A main objective of the Belgrade meeting was to relate the potential of community media formats originally developed in the industrialized world to developing country environments, and the recommendations put forward were taken up in several regional seminars and consultations held in Latin America (organized by CIESPAL in Quito, October 1978) and in Malaysia (organized by the Asia Pacific Institute for Broadcasting Development, December 1978).

While Unesco's earlier studies focused on problems of community media in their broadest possible sense, the present studies concentrate on the particular problems of media access and participation in urban environments. A major concern of Unesco, in communication as in other fields, has been with rural development, but relatively little attention has been paid specifically to the problems of communication and community support in urban settings. However, rapid urbanization, particularly in the developing world, necessitates a greater attention to urban issues. What are the problems in such settings which communication and community media may help resolve or alleviate? Do similar kinds of problems occur in urban environments, regardless of the level of social development? Are particular approaches, formats and techniques , likely to prove useful across a wide range of urban environments? Is there some advantage in putting those who work in urban community media in touch with each other, across a variety of countries at different stages of development?

In the original documents of the Unesco project, a definition for urban community media was offered that reveals how they might be able to contribute towards the solution or alleviation of some urban community problems:

'The term "urban community media", in the present context, reflects a particular understanding. Our emphasis is upon those uses of media which support community initiatives in urban settings, or which are introduced to help resolve tensions and problems. They are not confined to electronic or mass media: a cable television system, for example, or a local radio station would be included if they were genuinely local initiatives, excluded if set up primarily to network externally produced programmes. The media formats and channels involved might range from wall posters and mimeographed newsletters, through audio cassettes and portable video equipment, to more sophisticated cable networks: the emphasis is not upon the medium, or its mode of delivery, but upon its function within a conscious and structured community programme, focused upon urban problems'.

Within Unesco, Alan Hancock, of the Division of Development of Communication Systems, was responsible for the original design of the urban community media project and the commissioning of the contributions included in this book. ** A consultation held at Unesco headquarters from 7 to 10 October 1980 brought together the authors of the nine original case-studies. That meeting attempted to arrive at a common framework of analysis of the case studies with a view to their revision and publication, and agreed on an outline for the Overview (Chapter 1). Suggestions for further activities and research to promote urban community media were made, and these can be found in Appendix 1.

The original studies averaged 30,000 words in length and most have had to be cut by at least a half. So drastic a reduction, necessary for publication as a book, might perhaps have merited a different format--a fresh synthesis using and citing the original case studies. But it seemed right in a study of community media to maintain a participatory approach and let the studies speak for themselves.

* For a discussion of this term, see Chapter 1.

** The contribution from the Caribbean was added later.

A glance at the index will show the range and variety of contexts within community media as well as the range of media themselves. To it has been added an account from Trinidad and Tobago of the successful input of independent video production into a national broadcasting service, an achievement sufficiently rare to warrant inclusion as a supplement to the original nine studies.

Since the main point of the urban community media project was to explore the relevance to Third World countries of a concept first developed in the industrialized West, descriptions of Third World initiatives have been favoured at the expense of those in Europe and North America, which are in any case well documented elsewhere. On the other hand, developments such as the place given to autonomous, low-cost public radio within the Australian broadcasting system are not well known or reported and justify their place here. The mention of ad hoc satellite networks in the USA and of videotex and inter-active cable in Japan illustrates the degree of sophistication of media which may yet have potential for community use. Other chapters emphasize the value of traditional forms such as mime and theatre (India) or the face-to-face communication such as mosques provide in the arab world. These cost little and run less risk of external manipulation or dependence.

But what are these media for? What exactly is meant by community media and what are the urban problems that they are intended to solve? The answer will, we hope, emerge from the studies in the main part of the book, but the first chapter--Overview--attempts to clarify the definition of community media and situate the notion within the context of theory and the notion of human rights. The chapter includes a brief historical essay, written by Majid Tehranian, on urbanization and communication. Two sections of later chapters will be found helpful to supplement this introduction. These are Saad Labib's discussion of problems of urbanization in Arab countries (Chapter 3, section 2) and Marco Encalada's summary of theories of communication and development (Chapter 9, section 2).

CONTENTS

Chapter	Title	Page No.
	Preface	iii
	Table of Contents	v
1	OVERVIEW	1
	1. Rationale of the present study	1
	2. Definitions	2
	3. Characteristics of community media	4
	4. Functions of community media	4
	5. Normative criteria	5
	6. Limitations and constraints	6
	7. The historical context of urbanization (by Majid Tehranian)	7
	8. Conclusions	9
	9. References	9
2	AFRICA by Peter E. Kinyanjui	11
	1. Background information and data	13
	2. Zambian case study	18
	3. Portable video in Tanzania (1971-1973)	21
	4. Kenya (1975-1981)	22
	5. Problems and prospects	28
	6. General conclusions	29
	7. References	31
3	THE ARAB WORLD by Saad Labib	33
	1. Introduction	34
	2. Population distribution in the Arab World and the start of city explosion	36
	3. Communication and urbanization	39
	3.1 General features	39
	3.2 Regional and local radio	41
	3.3 Alexandria local radio (a case study)	43
	3.4 Regional and local television	44
	3.5 Regional and local press	46
	3.6 Small electronic media (including wired radio)	48
	3.7 Face-to-face communication	50
	4. Urbanization--signs of awakening concern	51
4	AUSTRALIA by Jillian and Stewart Fist	59
	1. Mass Media	59
	2. Public radio	61
	3. Ethnic broadcasting	70
	4. The Australian video access project	73
	5. Film and cinema	78
5	CARIBBEAN CASE STUDY--Trinidad and Tobago by Christopher Laird	81

Chapter	Title	Page No.
6	EUROPE by Peter M. Lewis	89
	1. Background data	91
	2. Independent film and video	93
	3. Local television	94
	4. Local radio	95
	5. Alternative press and publishing in Britain	103
	6. Post-script	106
	7. References	106
7	INDIA by Evelyn Voigt and Rajive Jain	109
	1. Introduction	111
	2. Traditional media	112
	3. Street plays and catalyst theatre	115
	Case study: Jagran	119
	4. Group media	122
	Case study: Chitrabani	123
	5. Radio and television	127
	Case study: Zoona Daab	131
	6. Print	135
	7. Conclusions	136
	8. References	137
8	JAPAN by Youichi Ito	141
	1. Introduction	143
	2. Print Community media	144
	2.1 Community newspapers	145
	2.2 Extra editions of political party newspapers	145
	2.3 Publicity papers by local government	147
	2.4 Free papers	148
	2.5 Community magazines	149
	3. Electronic community media	150
	3.1 Community broadcasting	150
	3.2 The telephone	152
	3.3 Future possibilities of electronic community media	153
	4. Summary	156
	5. References	157
9	LATIN AMERICA by Marco Encalada Reyes	159
	1. Background data	161
	2. Context and concepts of urban community communications	165
	3. Case studies in urban community communication	167
	3.1 Audio-visual pedagogy for educational communication in Ceilandia, Brazil	167
	3.2 Cassette forum	170
	3.3 Multi-media projects--The People's Communication Centre, Lima	171
	3.4 Action-research--MOBRAL, the Santa Cruz project	173
	3.5 Cultural development at Ajusco, Mexico DF	176
	3.6 Participation of workers in the production of tape-slides, Brazil	177
	4. Obstacles and limitations	178
	5. Some questions to stimulate discussion	183
	6. References	184

Chapter	Title	Page No.
10	NORTH AMERICA by James Teicher	187
	1. Introduction	189
	2. Origins of community media	190
	3. Origins and regulations of community cable programming in North America	192
	4. Community Television Case studies	194
	4.1 Rogers cable TV, Toronto	194
	4.2 Berks Community Television, Reading, Pennsylvania	195
	4.3 Cerracche Cable Television, Ithaca, New York	196
	4.4 Channel L Working Group, New York, NY	198
	5. Community media via satellite	201
	6. Community radio in North America	203
	7. References	207
11	THE PHILIPPINES by Florangel Rosario Braid & Leothiny Clavel	211
	1. Introduction	213
	2. The Philippines: a profile	213
	3. The Philippine mass media	215
	4. Urban community media	221
	5. Case study: DYLA radio	222
	6. Analysis--summary	230
	7. References	232
12	Conclusion	235
	Appendix: Proposals for related activities	237
	Index	

Chapter 1

OVERVIEW

1. Rationale of the present study

In the words of the MacBride Report, 'communication, nowadays, is a matter of human rights', and the main rationale and purpose of this study is to formulate the conditions for a more equitable distribution of power in urban communications and to document examples of places where this has been achieved. The MacBride Report was the outcome of a widespread dissatisfaction with the inequalities and injustices built into the international communication system. This study is concerned with the same issues at the level of the city and within the city--the suburb, the district, the neighbourhood. The connotations of 'community media', as will be explained in a moment, are not simply geographical or territorial: most importantly they embrace the idea of democratization of communication, and in this they are fundamentally linked to the world issues which MacBride and his colleagues confronted. The complaint of Third World countries about the injust effects of allowing information to be at the mercy of the 'free play' of market forces--in other words, serving the interests of the rich and powerful nations and transnational conglomerates--is exactly mirrored in microcosm where marginalized groups in a city have an inadequate share of resources, including information. Information is power, and advocates of the 'community media approach' are basically striving for a redistribution of power, enabling people to obtain, as the authors of the Indian study propose, greater control over their own lives. In many countries of the world, some of which are included in this study, this strategy has to be pursued with great care, working within the 'political space' available to win advances that fall short of provoking ruinous retaliation and repression by the state. In other countries--and this applies particularly in the industrialized West but is well illustrated also in the Caribbean case-study--the danger is the more subtle one of avoiding co-optation by the state or its mass media apparatuses, of preserving the integrity while earning the money to survive.

Community media, then, are concerned with that basic freedom laid down in Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights:

> 'Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers' (emphasis added).

A right to communicate, while not yet accepted formally at the international level, and being 'still at the stage of being thought through in all its implications' (MacBride) certainly includes the principles of access, participation and self-management in communications. It is because the traditional approach of mass media is deficient in respect of these principles that one can usefully encapsulate the role of community media as:

expanding the services of mass media;

challenging mass media systems and their implications;

offering alternatives to make media systems;

doing things which mass media systems cannot do.

2. Definitions

Following Berrigan (1977), Josiane Jouët, in her working paper for the Unesco Belgrade meeting, proposed definitions of access, participation and self-management which were accepted by participants at the Belgrade meeting, and have been widely followed since. They are worth quoting in full.

'(a) Access

By definition, access implies the ability of the public to come closer to communication systems, and in concrete terms, it can be related to two levels: that of choice and that of feed-back.

At the level of choice, access includes:

(i) The individual right to communication materials, the right to listen to or view desired programmes, when a person wants, where he or she wants.

(ii) The availability of a wider range of materials, the choice of which is made by the public instead of being imposed by production organizations (informational and educational materials, services and alternative programmes).

(iii) The transmission of materials requested by the public.

At the level of feed-back, access implies:

(i) Interaction between producers and receivers of messages.

(ii) Direct participation by the audience during the transmission of programmes.

(iii) The right to comment and criticize.

(iv) Means of keeping in touch with producers, administrators, and the managers of communication organizations.

(b) Participation

Participation implies involvement of the public in production and in the management of communication systems. It also operates at different levels--of production, decision-making and planning.

At the production level, participation implies:

(i) Unrestricted opportunities for the public (individuals or groups) to produce programmes and to have access to professional help.

(ii) Making available to the public technical facilities and production resources (i.e. a more advanced level of participation in production).

At the decision-making level, participation implies the involvement of the public in:

(i) Programming: content and duration of programmes; scheduling of programmes.

(ii) The management, administration and financing of communication organizations.

At the planning level, participation comprises the right of the public to contribute to:

(i) The formulation of plans and policies for communication enterprises: definition of objectives, principles of management and future programming.

(ii) The formulation of national, regional and local communication plans.

In summary, access refers to the use of media for public service. It may be defined in terms of the opportunities available to the public to choose varied and relevant programmes, and to have a means of feed-back in order to transmit its reactions and demands to production organizations.

Participation implies a higher level of public involvement in communication systems. It includes the involvement of the public in the production process, and also in the management and planning of communication systems.

(c) Self-management

Participation may imply no more than representation and consultation of the public in decision-making. On the other hand, self-management is the most advanced form of participation. In this case, the public exercises the power of decision-making within communication enterprises, and is also fully involved in the formulation of communication policies and plans. (Jouët 1977)

The CIESPAL meeting at Quito in 1978 had seen Jouët's paper, The meeting's final report, using language which reflects the harsh nature of political reality in Latin America, defined participatory communication in relation to mass media. As opposed to the ideological functions of the latter, the legitimation of the social relations of production, the superimposition of the interests of the dominant class over the interests of those under their control and the profit motive 'which generally treats information as a marketable product ... to the detriment of its inter-relating social role', participatory communication was seen as a 'mediating process ... which can be used as an instrument of struggle in order to make a real change in the conditions of existence, to alter the structure of economic, social and cultural power, and invert existing forms of communication' (CIESPAL 1978).

There is no mention of 'community' in all this, and, indeed, use of the word as a qualifier in 'community media' requires explanation since it has become both a source of confusion and an ideological battle ground in which rival groups contend for the supposed virtues of community.

Human community, as indeed all human communication, is predicated upon the existence of an epistemic community based on shared experiences and common structures of meaning. Closed and traditional societies provided a historical setting in which a high level of integration was made possible by the limits they imposed on human experiences and explorations in meaning. As the only form of human interaction, face-to-face communication by word of mouth provided further limits to the propagation of new ideas. Social solidarity in traditional societies was thus often based on territorial communities and belief-systems that elicited a corporate identity. By contrast, in modern societies the notion of community has transcended its territorial boundaries. People often belong to multiple communities, some territorial and some not, and carry a number of different badges which they wear in accordance with the different social milieux in which they happen to find themselves.

In the vocabulary of English-speaking media radicals, community came to the fore in the late 1960s, and was a usage shared with reformers in fields such as law, health, education and planning. In these fields, in Britain at least, the participation of the community in the plans and services provided by government (whether local or central) was part of the deliberate application of systems planning and corporate management principles to local government, stemming from the paternalist tradition of colonial community development (Cockburn 1978). 'Community' as a concept conveniently ignores the different class interests within it; incorporated in planning, 'the community' becomes part of the state's feed-back system which allows it to improve the efficiency of its services (and reduce costs). In the famous graffiti painted on Parisian walls in May 1968, participation declines as a verb.

> Je participe, tu participes, il participe,
> nous participons, vous participez, ils profitent!

At about the same time the newly created Canadian Radio-Television Commission was embarking on a policy for cable television which was intended to safeguard Canadian culture from the threat south of the border. So 'community programming' and the 'community channel' were born (in the USA, for different but related reasons, 'community access TV' found favour) and made an obligatory part of a cable franchise. The principles of community programming (based on those used in the seminal projects described in Chapter 10) and the label itself were highly influential in Europe in the early 1970s when the term 'community media' was practically synonymous with video. The label stuck, and was used not only by radical practitioners in an increasingly wide field of media, but began to be appropriated by broadcasters and city planners to describe their gestures of access or their local services.

The prefix had disadvantages for both groups, not least because of its misleading and vaguely nostalgic associations. The technology of broadcast transmission resurrects that equation of community and locality which, as we have seen, no longer necessarily holds good. And it is all too easy for 'community', in its 'radical formulation, the assertion of common interest and the celebration of solidarity ... to slip into an idealizing retrospect (or) a retreat from the central issues of power and domination in the social order' (Minority Press Group 1980).

Community, then, remains an ambivalent concept, but in this study we shall bear in mind both the territorial and the epistemic community ('community of interest'), and a third, the 'community of needs', that is those individuals and groups linked by their need for a particular resource, right or service, even if these 'real needs' are not felt, since, as Harvey (1973) remarks, 'very poorly served groups often have very low standards of felt need'.

At all events, all the case-studies make clear that market demand cannot be taken, as it is by commercial mass media, as the indicator of 'needs'.

Finally, in this attempt at definition, we must make clear that community media can be high, medium or low-cost and that there is no difference as such between urban and rural use: urban community media are community media used in an urban context.

3. Characteristics

It will be helpful at this point briefly to summarize the characteristics and the function of community media. Community media projects

- may involve varying degrees of access; participation and self management (see above for Jouët's definition);
- usually involve low- or medium-cost media;
- cover areas that are small in comparison with the units of mass media;
- have relatively brief time-spans, since projects are often experimental or pilot;
- involve dialogue and interaction between senders and receivers--often the roles of sender and receiver are blurred, shared or exchanged;
- are usually autonomous in the sense that they are not part of a corporate or national structure;
- involve the sharing of communication tasks between professionals and non-professionals;
- are not usually intended to generate profit; where this does occur, profit is is ploughed back to finance other services or parts of the project.

4. Functions of community media

The following functions of community media, originally listed by Marco Encalada as applying to Latin American projects, usefully summarize the applications described in the case-studies for other parts of the world. Community media are intended to:

1. inform the population about activities which are carried on in the community and problems that affect the inhabitants;
2. develop a capacity among members of the community to express possible solutions to problems perceived there;
3. produce a critical conscience about the members of the community;
4. generate community solidarity, which is defined as a certain suffering, support or feeling of sympathy for those who have a problem or loss which does not affect the individual personally but his or her group or social class as well;
5. generate a politicization to the extent that an individual observes, feels and understands the significance of power at different levels;
6. generate organization, considered as the ability of people to organize themselves in a given situation;
7. develop interpersonal communication systems within the community so that semi-formal internal communication ability is strengthened;
8. promote the community's activities by participating:

(a) in some part of the production process of communication materials, whether it be the design, the selection of messages, or the physical preparation and production;

(b) in the performance of transitory community work:

(c) in the research process on the immediate and longer-term needs of the community;

(d) in the design and elaboration of communication projects to support community organization and the execution of community works;

(e) in evaluation of the effectiveness of communication media;

(f) in the political performance of the community; and in political life in general;

(g) in the preparation of self-instructional materials on subjects to do with production techniques;

9. make objective their demands, aspirations, problems, needs and accomplishments, by means of different methods of communication developed by the community;

10. generate processes of knowledge for ways of solving community problems by means of indispensable technical information;

11. develop literacy activities for adults and children which are out-of-school or formal systems;

12. promote the re-evaluation of the culture of the population, through the production and application of audio-visual programmes;

13. mediate between the action of government sectors at the national, regional and local levels and community members, for the improvement of the lives of the inhabitants.

14. implement intergroup communication systems in order to establish permanent discussion about plans and programmes which the State can set up for the community;

15. train different community groups for communication tasks and other activities of community promotion;

16. serve as a means for bringing about informal or transitory community organization.

5. Normative criteria

So far we have proposed definitions and listed the characteristics and functions of community media. But when the authors of the separate studies conferred together in Paris in October 1980, there was a strong feeling that a set of normative criteria should be provided in this overview. That is, that we should state what should be the case, not simply describe what is the situation as it stands. This would enable genuine community media to be distinguished from what Raymond Williams has called the 'public relations version' where so-called community media operations are 'mere fronts for irresponsible networks whose real centres of power lie elsewhere' (Williams 1974).

While it was accepted that the final publication should include instances of high technology potentially suitable for community use, these were seen as exceptional, and the following criteria were held to be desirable.

Community media should:

- serve recognizable communities (as defined in paragraph 2 above);

- not be motivated (or be part of systems that are motivated) by commercial considerations. They may be profit-generating, but profits should be directed to public service;

- have a policy which encourages the development of participatory democracy, one which recognizes the right to ideological plurality and is opposed to racism, sexism and other discriminatory attitudes;

- offer opportunities to any members of the community to initiate communications, as well as the right to participate in each stage of the planning, production, distribution, and evaluation process;

- offer any members of the community the use of media instruments and, if necessary, training in their use;

- utilize technology appropriate to the economic level, and be capable of non-professional use that does not create dependence;

- exist on the assumption that those involved are entitled and expected to participate in economic and political terms in the wider context of society beyond the community media process in order to achieve a redistribution of power;

- operate on the assumption that information is generated as a result of reflection about the participant's own reality, rather than transmitted from outside;

- promote problem solving;

- assist people in sharing roles and duties and collective action

The reader is referred to the following passages in subsequent chapters which amplify these criteria in specific respects.

Ch. 4	Australia	Section 2	Public radio--the criteria used by the Australian Broadcasting Tribunal in granting licences
Ch. 7	India	Section 4	Group media--Chitrabani's guidelines for the use of photographs
Ch. 8	Latin America	Section 3.6	Tape-slide production--the role of the animator
		Section 4	Comments on training appropriate for community media work
Ch. 10	North America	end of Section 2	Conclusions concerning community media

6. Limitations and constraints

Here we are summarizing the internal limitations of community media projects and the external constraints upon them. Section 4 of the Latin American study contains a very full discussion, and what follows here summarizes Encalada's main points as well as bringing together those made in other chapters.

Limitations

- design and evaluation of projects is weak or non-existent;

- there is little or no diagnostic ('needs') research;

- the compartmentalization of funding or administering authorities is often in conflict with the way needs are felt and expressed;

- little or no training is offered at the university, college or professional level that is appropriate to community media work;

- the reproducibility of projects is problematical: most are one-off or pilots;
- equipment failures, high cost of spare parts, lack of technical infrastructure;
- management failures both in administering authorities and at operational project level;

Constraints

- political instability at the government level leading to inconsistent policies;
- unwillingness of central governments to decentralize power;
- unwillingness of central governments to tolerate dissent (but see Ch. 3 on the Arab world for the argument justifying government control because of the risk of individual exploitation of communications);
- limitations of broadcast regulatory policies (e.g. Philippines, Section 3);
- financial constraints (see, for example, the downward spiral of efficiency in Cerracche Cable TV, North America. Also discussion of the problem of quantifying benefits of community media--Latin America, Section 4);
- professional (broadcasters') resistance to sharing skills, definition of 'needs', etc.;
- expectations of a public accustomed to mass media content, pace and technical standards (Philippines Section 3, Latin America, Section 4). This is associated with the ease with which transnational corporations can 'develop a pattern of homogeneity of needs and demands' (Philippines, Section 3);
- technical advances can have a negative effect; for example, the introduction of microwave and satellite links in some Arab countries led to the abandonment of regional provision in broadcasting and the press. In a quite different field, the Banyan Project in Trinidad and Tobago felt the pressure to upgrade their equipment and compete with standards of other contributors of broadcast output;
- low valuation placed on citizens, internalized as poor self-image (Latin America Section 2 and 4);
- poverty--marginal groups have little free time available to think of things that do not directly bear on daily subsistence living (Latin America, Section 4). 'Given that apathy is born of fatigue and malnourishment, slum residents have less resources for participation than their better fed counterparts' (India, Section 7).

This is a formidable list, but before turning to the case-studies to see how, despite these obstacles, urban groups have been able to take greater control over their lives, it is necessary to look more closely at the phenomenon of urbanization which is the context for our descriptions of community media in use.

7. The historical context of urbanization

In any analysis of urban community media, a historical approach would be useful. To neglect history would be to neglect the social context of the media. Communities of every variety are based on historical, collective memories and identities. Urban community media are therefore subject to the different historical patterns of urbanization and urban communication development.

We may from the outset distinguish between two radically different urban traditions in the world which may be identified as autonomous and dependent cities. Modern cities in Western Europe seem to have developed out of the womb of mediaeval Europe as autonomous boroughs on the outskirts of feudal manors. As free trade zones, these beginnings of modern cities gave

rise to autnomous urban classes (the industrial bourgeoisie and proletariat, traders and merchants, guilds, craftsmen, etc.) and social institutions. The traditions of municipal self-government, free trade, relative social mobility and pluralism were thus built into the uroan structures that emerged out of this historical situation.

These historical differences have had important consequences in modern times. The rise of the modern nation-state system along with its central military and civilian bureaucracies has had, of course, its universal impact on the fate of cities. In contrast to traditional societies, where feudal power was important and sometimes decisive, cities have generally become the centres of political, economic and cultural activities and power plays in the modern world. However, wherever traditions of urban self-government have had a presence, autonomous urban social institutions have acted as a countervailing power against the encroachments of the central government. By contrast, wherever such autonomous traditions were weak or non-existent, the domination of the central government has been overwhelming and complete.

These historical differences have also had important implications for the development of urban communication systems. In the United States, for instance, where states enjoyed a measure of autonomy and where traditions of municipal autonomy were borrowed from Europe, few if any national newspapers have emerged. Despite the power of the national networks, local broadcasting and local newspapers still hold their own. Similarly in Western Europe, despite the centrality of the national communication systems, local and regional media systems still survive and in some places thrive. By contrast, whatever local or regional communication systems exist in the less developed world, they come under the spell of the national system which is dominated by commercial and often powerful international and domestic political interests.

More profoundly, however, the processes of urbanization have torn the solidarity of traditional societies at several different levels. First, urbanization has brought about a transition from particularistic to universal values. Contact with the outside world and its contradictory values, facilitated by the modern means of transportation and communication, has shaken the traditional societies into a sense of relativistic historical consciousness that challenges their parochial views. One's own experiences have to be increasingly measured against the experiences of others in order to arrive at a more universal interpretation of reality.

Second, social relations are also increasingly changed from ascription to achievement and consequently from affective to functional human intercourse. The organic solidarity of the traditional system, based on a hierarchy of blood relations, is nibbled away by the competitive spirit of the cash nexus in urban societies. Notions of honour, based on social hierarchical codes of conduct, are increasingly challenged by notions of integrity derived from the individual's desperate struggle amidst the value contradictions of urban life to reach for an equilibrium between self-respect and self-advancement.

Third, the processes of urbanization also undermine the corporate structure and identity of traditional society (the tribe, the guild, the caste, etc.) to replace it with pluralistic structures and identities. In urban societies, the individual belongs not to one but many communities. He experiences a complex variety of social worlds and faces a staggering diversity of choices in schooling, housing, career opportunities, social, political and professional associations. He is confronted with at least three interlocking, but often contradictory, sets of social structures and identities: primordial, status and civic. Primordial identity and loyalty are naturally embedded in racial, ethnic, religious and cultural origins. Status identity and loyalty, often more mobile and changing in the urban environment, attach to whatever social class, professional group or socio-economic category the individual happens to belong. Civic identity is, by contrast, inevitably subjected to the demands for loyalty made by the political state system of which he happens to be a citizen. Under conditions of rapid change, characteristic of most developing countries, the individual will be torn between conflicting identities and loyalties, and may often experience a dichotomization of the personality into private and public selves. In response to rapid environmental change, the public self or identity has to change much faster than the private self can. This is not only a source of much inner anxiety but also the springboard for urban anomic outbursts that signify both the loss of and the yearning for community.

And, finally, urbanization has promoted a secular culture that has few of the safety valves of the religious cultures of traditional societies. The certainty of belief in an after-life is replaced by the ontological insecurity and anxiety of the awareness of death and finitude. The acceptance

of religious dogmas as guides to action gives way to the burdens of freedom and choice. The sense of solidarity and identity with a community of a congregation is undermined by the anonymity of the individual in the more abstractly defined communities, i.e. the nation, the class, the party, the factory, the corporation, etc.

For all of these reasons, the transition to a modern urban society has in the experience of most nations been accompanied by a loss of community. The faster the rate of transition, the greater has been the sense of loss. However, modern means of mass communication have provided a vast range of new possibilities for nation-building and community organization. They have also provided governments with multitudinous means of access to what used to be the sacred domain of the traditional nexus of community relations (tribe, the extended family, the mosque, the bazaar, the guild, etc.). In the developing countries, this traditional nexus is being undermined by the urban, social and economic process of differentiation into new class, professional and voluntary associations. It is orchestrated through the mass media. But the new communications technologies provide a double-edged sword. On the one hand, they seem to be useful vehicles for the propagation of a national culture, language and ideology. But on the other, because of their weak linkages with traditional nascent communication institutions, they produce a sense of alienation unparalleled in the historical experience of Western countries.

Distantiation in communication, achieved through the technology of mass media as well as the new forms of information storage and retrieval, has exacerbated the centre-periphery relations at several different levels. The dichotomization of mass and elite, urban and rural, religious and secular cultures has, in some countries, virtually led to the emergence of two nations with dualistic communication systems. The new technologies have given central governments enormous powers of control and manipulation without providing the public with commensurate powers of resistance. Mass communication, a contradiction in terms, has often assumed a shapeless and malleable mass as its audience and object of manipulation. Where modern institutions of voluntary association and public communication are weak, talking at people rather than to people through the media has become the order of the day. Where bureaucratic control is assisted by the modern means of information gathering, storage and retrieval without alternative means of challenging the bureaucratic decisions, the public is often subjected to decisions over its life without having an opportunity to express its views. Monopoly access to sources of information has given the bureaucracies a cognitive arrogance; decisions are often made without the cognitive participation of those affected by them.

At the level of social communications, urbanization has sometimes taken a set of tolls which we may identify as the bureaucratization and impersonalization of human relations. The economic and social processes of urbanization have very often meant the dissolution of the small rural and tribal communities in which individuals belonged to the corporate entity which gave them full support and to which they gave undivided loyalty. The increasing levels of geographic, social (both vertical and horizontal), and psychic mobility have given rise to serious social and psychological dislocations. In the Third World, where these processes have been compressed within a shorter period of time, they have also given rise to the so-called 'revolutions of rising expectations and frustrations'.

8. Conclusion

We have sketched above the historical development of a process which is moving to dominate the centre stage of world history. The institutions of mass media and of education have not adjusted to cope with the problems of newly formed cities, with the phenomenon of country/cities (see Arab world) or with urban dereliction in older industrialized cities.

Within these several contexts, the same urban problems recur, as the case-studies show: lack of basic education, diversity of language and cultures, unjust income distribution and employment opportunities. They are modified by the demographic variables of age and sex, by the level and types of urban community organizations and the level of exposure and access to media.

These conditions give rise to 'survival needs' both of a basic kind and information needs such as the need to promote interaction, consciousness-raising, mobilization, information resource sharing, adjustment to new environments, a sense of 'leverage'. This last, the need for a greater measure of control over their own lives by marginalized urban groups, is the fundamental need which the use of community media is intended to satisfy and is closely linked to the issue of human rights with which we began this overview.

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Chapter 2

AFRICA

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AFRICA

		Page
1.	Background information and data	13
2.	Zambian case study	18
3.	Portable video in Tanzania (1971-1973)	21
4.	Kenya (1975-1981)	22
5.	Problems and prospects	28
6.	General conclusions	29
7.	References	31

1. Background information and data

General

The continent of Africa defies generalization. Throughout its regions and countries, and even within a small state such as Swaziland there are numerous social, cultural, economic and political diversities. Vast disparities also exist with respect to rural and urban populations, literate and non-literate populations, and traditional and modern economies.

For ease of presentation, one particular region of Africa has been selected in order to illustrate how certain forms of urban community media have been used for development activities. The region selected stretches from northern Kenya to southern Zambia and passes through Tanzania. Ethnically, this area is predominantly Bantu, which is the largest language group in the continent of Africa. The case studies selected from within this area will illustrate various applications of radio and other audio recordings, video recordings and traditional forms of media for different community functions.

The information presented here was gathered through travel, questionnaires and correspondence with certain individuals and institutions that were known to the author to be engaged in media activities that could fall under the definition of urban community media. In this study, the definition of 'urban' was least stressed since urbanization in most parts of Africa is still a new concept, and no indigenous people can claim to belong wholly to the urban centres, towns or cities in Africa. They may have one foot in the urban setting but the other one would still be in the rural community.

Urbanization

Urbanization, as perceived by the industrially developed world, is a very recent phenomenon in Africa. Africa, however, has a number of large cities with population figures of half-a-million or more, and numerous smaller towns and urban settlements which are quasi-rural and quasi-urban. Indeed, these marginal settlements often give rise to dual ways of life which combine urban living with traditional rural or tribal patterns. People living in these marginal settlements have not yet fully organized themselves into self-conscious urban groupings. Their unity or common bond lies in their common problems and common destiny. Population growth in these peri-urban areas is much higher than in the main urban centres, and many times higher than the natural population growth. The ever growing trend of migration from rural to urban areas has given rise to many compound problems of housing, education, health and sanitation, employment and transportation.

Community media within these urbanized settlements in Africa have evolved gradually and have been built around the existing media already established and under direct control of the respective governments. The problems of urban living are essentially similar, whether the people are living in the per-urban areas or in large villages (such as in Tanzania where 'villagization' is a new concept). The voices of the people are nevertheless expressed through their own traditional media or through established media when access and participation are provided.

Traditional media

Oral traditions are strong in Africa. They are expressed in the form of folk roles, drama, song, dance and mime by individuals or groups. These traditional group modes of communication are perhaps the most realistic and effective means of communication in Africa. They would be even more so if they were to be combined with modern media in community-based settings.

The following African case studies, particularly the one from Zambia, will illustrate how traditional media have been used to great effect. In certain cases there have been attempts to blend traditional media with modern media or to utilize modern media in the traditional way. Urban and peri-urban communities have been known to express their needs, feelings and aspirations through the use of traditional forms of expression such as drama, song and dance but presenting them through the modern electronic media of radio, television and video. Some examples will be given later.

Modern media

In the field of media development, it is clear that large sections of the population in the Africa region cannot be reached adequately and effectively by existing facilities. With about 50 per cent of the adult population unable to read or write in any language, the large-scale use of printed media as a means of reaching the people is not feasible at this stage. However, many countries have launched or intensified their literacy campaigns during recent years.

The situation of radio broadcasting, while more encouraging, is far from satisfactory. There are still numerous problems related to infrastructure, signal reception, set ownership, languages for broadcasting and government control.

The general picture of modern mass media development in some forty selected African countries is shown in Table I.

Definitions of community media

For purposes of this study we shall adopt the definitions proposed by Berrigan (1977) and Jouët (1977), which were accepted at the Belgrade meeting. These are access, participation and self-management.

We shall also consider urban community media in the context of their functions, and in that which distinguishes them from other general communication media. The following are some of the functions and characteristics:

1. They serve a recognizable group of people, living in a geographically defined community, and having a common set of interests which are sufficiently strong to bind them together.

2. The interests or problems are common enough to generate collective action in order to articulate the community needs and determine the courses of action that will best advance those interests and solve the problems;

3. The mode of operation of community media depends on the community setting. It is the result of local initiatives and is intended for the benefit of the local communities affected.

4. Community media are non-profit-making, locally planned, executed and managed, and are mainly instituted to bridge the gap left unfilled by the existing national and authoritarian media. Community media are not to be seen as necessarily in opposition to the established mass media but rather as alternative and supplementary forms of media serving special interests of fulfilling specific local needs of a community.

Availability, development and utilization of the mass media in Africa

Table I summarizes the present state of affairs regarding the availability, development and utilization of mass media in some forty African countries.

A quick glance at the mass media map of Africa reveals numerous problems and constraints in this connection. In comparison with, say, North America, the African continent could be described in general terms as follows:

Media availability - some types of media are available only to selected audiences, mainly in the urban centres. Radio is the only medium which is virtually ubiquitous.

Media development - almost all forms of mass media are underdeveloped owing to economic, technical and political problems and constraints.

Media utilization - certain media continue to be under-utilized or are not utilized because they are only partially available or completely unavailable to certain population groups.

The problems and constraints which give rise to this state of the mass media in Africa can be enumerated very briefly as follows:

- Scattered populations with few pockets of urbanized communities and large settlement areas;
- Multiplicity of ethnic, tribal and language groups;
- Problems of high rates of illiteracy particularly among the adult population of which about fifty per cent are unable to read or write in any language;
- General underdevelopment, poverty and lack of social amenities and infrastructures necessary for mass media;
- Lack of sufficient high- and middle-level manpower to plan and develop mass media.

Radio in Africa

In comparison with other forms of modern mass media, radio seems to occupy the most privileged position in Africa. All countries carry out varieties of radio broadcasting mainly for purposes of information, education and entertainment. Radio broadcasting is almost wholly centralized, government-owned and government-controlled. Broadcasting is carried out in more than one language and attempts are made by all governments to cater for the dominant language groups in each country.

African governments recognize the unique position and the immense power that radio possesses especially among the non-literate population. The coming of the age of the transistor has meant that radio has become more widespread as a communication tool than any other medium. Although the number of radio receivers has greatly increased over the recent years in all countries of Africa, the actual population coverage is still a minority. For example, in 25 countries of Africa there are less than 50 receivers for every 1,000 population. In addition, there are technical problems of signal reception. All this suggests the need for more infrastructural development if radio is to become a major vehicle for mass communication in Africa.

Radio also enjoys a special privilege in Africa because of the oral tradition which is still strong in most countries. The spoken word carries considerable weight and radio has been found to be easily compatible with traditional community media of theatre, music, dance and story-telling.

It is also due to the simplicity of the medium and the relatively low cost in terms of equipment and technical manpower required that make radio the most promising tool for small communities to have access to, participate in and manage for themselves.

It is therefore easier to extend and modify the uses of radio from the national or country-wide context to the community context so that it becomes an alternative and complementary vehicle for the local people to express their needs, problems, culture, identity and aspirations.

Experience has also shown that radio is flexible and can be extended in the form of audio recordings, e.g. tapes and cassettes, to be used at the convenience of a local community group. One of the case studies will illustrate the use of radio broadcasts by a listening-cum-discussion-cum action group in an African setting.

Table 1.

MASS MEDIA DEVELOPMENT AND UTILIZATION IN SELECTED AFRICAN COUNTRIES*

COUNTRY	POPULATION	AREA (Sq. km.)	PRESS						FILMS					RADIO					TELEVISION		
			Newspapers		Total Circulation		Copies per 1,000 people							Transmitters							
			Dailies	Non-Dailies	Dailies	Non-Dailies	Dailies	Non-Dailies	Cinemas	Total Seating Capacity	Seats per 1,000 People	Total Annual Attendance	Annual Visits per Capita	Long/ Medium Wave	Short Wave	VHF FM	Receivers	Receivers per 1,000	trans-mitters	Receivers	Receivers per 1,000
ANGOLA	6,543,000	1,246,700	4	15	66,000	—	12	—	35	28,000	5	2,900,000	0.5	24	40	13	110,000	20	—	—	—
BENIN	3,379,000	112,622	1	2	1,500	1,700	0.5	0.6	6	9,000	3	1,211,000	0.4	2	2	—	97,000	35	—	—	—
BOTSWANA	764,000	600,372	2	2	13,500	9,000	20	13	11	3,000	4	75,000	0.1	1	2	1	11,744	17	—	—	—
BURUNDI	4,192,000	27,834	1	3	300	47,000	0.8	13	2	600	0.17	151,500	0.04	4	2	1	100,000	28	—	—	—
CAMEROON	8,323,000	475,442	2	4	17,000	19,000	3	3	28	20,000	3	—	—	4	8	—	1,700,000	291	—	—	—
CAPE VERDE	328,000	4,033	—	2	—	—	—	—	6	2,700											
CENTRAL AFRICAN REP	2,284,000	622,984	1	—	500	—	0.3	—	8	2,000	1	500,000	0.3	2	3	1	60,000	37	—	—	—
CHAD	4,528,000	1,284,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	9	6,000	2	1,300,000	0.3	2	3	1	60,000	16	—	—	—
CONGO	1,508,000	342,000	3	12	—	12,000	—	12	24	6,500	7	—	—	1	4	5	65,000	66	1	2,500	3
EQUATORIAL GUINEA	244,000	28,051	1	1	1,000	—	3	—	11	6,300	22	500,000	2	—	2	—	7,500	26	—	—	—
ETHIOPIA	31,780,000	1,221,900	3	2	39,000	—	2	—	30	26,138	1	9,540,370	0.4	5	4	—	500,000	20	6	25,000	1
GABON	637,000	267,667	1	1	700	5,000	1	10	2	1,700	3	385,000	0.8	6	4	—	65,000	130	3	1,300	3
GAMBIA	585,000	11,295	—	11	—	7,500	—	20	15	—	—	—	—	1	1	1	50,000	133	—	—	—
GHANA	11,742,000	238,537	3	39	270,000	680,000	30	77	13	14,400	2	1,027,796	0.1	—	16	7	750,000	85	4	16,000	2
GUINEA	5,275,000	245,857	1	1	5,000		1	28	—	10,000	2	—	—	1	4	—	85,000	21	—	—	—
IVORY COAST	7,761,000	322,463	2	2	26,000	38,000	6	9	88	80,000	18	11,500,000	3	3	4	4	86,000	19	4	40,000	9
KENYA	15,778,000	582,644	3	12	119,000		10		32	18,800	2	7,300,000	0.6	6	11	1	774,000	64	4	22,850	2
LESOTHO	1,305,000	30,355	—	2	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	10,000	11	—	—	—
LIBERIA	1,798,000	111,370	1	4	7,000	7,100	5	5	8	—	—	825,266	0.5	8	8	—	400,000	255	3	6,000	4
MADAGASCAR	8,349,000	587,041	13	19	103,300	111,500	15	17	43	15,000	2	4,500,000	0.6	9	9	—	600,000	89	5	6,000	0.8
MALAWI	5,867,000	118,484	3	—	23,000	—	5	—	13	5,335	1	—	—	7	3	3	210,000	24	—	—	—
MALI	6,454,000	1,240,000	2	—	3,350	—	0.6	—	19	17,100	3	2,500,000	0.5	2	2	—	60,000	11	—	—	—
MAURITANIA	1,474,000	1,030,700	1	2	300		0.2		—	—	—	—	—	2	2	—	150,000	125	—	—	—
MAURITIUS	941,000	2,045	12	14	14,500	6,000	17	7	53	5,700	62	827,000	10	1	2	—	107,474	129	6	28,700	34
MOZAMBIQUE	10,030,000	783,030	6	7	60,000		8		22	22,000	3	2,500,000	0.3	15	19	2	110,000	15	1	1,000	0.1
NIGER	5,346,000	1,267,000	1	1	2,000	2,000	0.5	0.5	4	3,800	0.9	828,000	0.2	10	3	—	100,000	24	1	—	—
NIGERIA	74,595,000	923,768	11	—	—	—	—	—	183	36,800	0.7	68,750,000	1	16	21	—	1,275,000	23	7	75,000	1
GUINEA BISSAU	538,000	36,125	1	1	500	500	1	1	4	1,600	3	300,000	0.5	1	1	—	8,000	14	—	—	—
RWANDA	4,955,000	26,338	—	1	—	8,000	—	2	4	800	0.2	—	—	—	1	—	50,000	13	—	—	—
SENEGAL	5,532,000	196,192	1	4	20,000	40,000	5	10	87	50,415	13	52,000	1	5	5	—	268,000	67	1	1,600	0.4
SEYCHELLES	64,000	376	2	3	2,550	2,675	48	50	2	546	10	150,000	3	2	2	—	7,500	142	—	—	—
SIERRA LEONE	3,309,000	71,740	2	13	15,000		6		10	5,500	2	122,000	0.04	1	2	—	50,000	19	1	5,000	2
SOMALIA	3,474,000	637,657	1	2	4,450	2,500	2	0.8	26	23,000	8	4,700,000	2	—	5	—	50,000	17	—	—	—
SWAZILAND	541,000	17,363	—	2	—	—	—	—	2	800	2	100,000	0.2	1	—	1	13,000	30	—	—	—
TANZANIA	17,364,000	939,703	7	23	61,000	213,000	4	15	36	14,500	1	5,000,000	0.4	4	5	—	150,000	11	—	—	—
TOGO	2,544,000	56,000	3	4	13,000		6		4	2,000	1	600,000	0.3	2	2	—	40,000	20	—	—	—
UGANDA	13,225,000	236,036	7	26	90,000	133,000	9	13	17	16,000	1	2,000,000	0.2	6	1	—	509,000	49	6	15,000	1
UPPER VOLTA	6,661,000	274,200	1	3	2,000	6,000	0.3	1	6	2,200	0.3	1,000,000	0.2	1	3	—	87,000	16	1	500	0.09
ZAIRE	28,090,000	2,345,409	6	12	—	—	—	—	57	17,000	0.8	1,100,000	0.05	4	18	5	20,000	0.09	2	6,500	0.3
ZAMBIA	5,649,000	752,614	2	13	60,000	150,000	13	33	29	13,359	3	—	—	3	10	2	250,000	55	3	18,500	3
															455		8.95m			271,450	

* It is possible that at the time of writing many of the countries may have increased their mass media and utilization which may not be reflected in this table.

People's Theatre

In recent years, people's theatre (sometimes called 'folk theatre') has drawn a great deal of attention as a medium for information, education and social action in the Third World. To this end, a number of international organizations such as Unesco, Unicef and IPPF are promoting its use as a traditional or folk medium in selected development communication projects in Africa. At the same time, community development and other extension workers are taking it up as a means of organizing community education and stimulating community participation. Special interest groups are gradually rediscovering its potential as a means of raising the awareness, articulating their needs and organizing action to fulfil their survival needs.

The impact of people's theatre has proved to be quite considerable in Africa, particularly in the use of techniques that attract large audiences and in the use of cultural symbols and themes that people understand, thus creating meaningful and spontaneous participation, communication, learning and action. Other advantages of the 'folk media' approach include the following:

- cultural relevance and use of indigenous languages
- familiarity and acceptability
- informal and entertaining
- ability to reach ordinary people, the poor and deprived
- comparative cheapness in their use of local resources
- capability of putting across information with conviction, repetition and flexibility
- ability to bridge the gap between the individuals and the supplement of the modern mass media

Folk theatre has thus been used to reflect the most pressing problems of an urban community in creating a community forum where these problems can be discussed, solutions agreed on, and collective action undertaken. Additional benefits include the following:

- it is a horizontal, two-way means of communication with and among the people
- it is a low-cost communication technology which makes use of the cultural creativity of the people rather than reinforce dependence by relying on imported or transferred skills or technologies
- it is a means of communication that can be managed by and kept within the control of local people
- it is a means of self-expression that can help in increasing self-awareness and self-confidence

African case studies

Case studies from selected countries of Africa will be used to illustrate how different media have been applied to support local community initiatives and aspirations in certain urban settings.

The case studies selected from Kenya, Tanzania and Zambia are an attempt to show the development of semi-urban community media and the ways in which they are being utilized in conjunction with the established media which are government controlled. The populations affected have established settlements in the peri-urban areas or in large villages where they live in recognized communities and face common destiny. As such they are regarded as constituting urban communities by definition.

2. Zambia case study

Background

Zambia has been selected as one of the case studies because of its unique circumstances and characteristics with regard to its urban population. With the exception of South Africa, Zambia is the most urbanized country on the African continent south of the Sahara.

Since Independence in 1964, Zambia has experienced a phenomenal increase of its urban population which has been concentrated in Lusaka, the capital city, and in the mining towns around and within the Copperbelt. For example, between 1963 and 1969 the urban proportions of the population increased from 20 per cent to 29 per cent. Lusaka alone had an average annual increase of 15 per cent. The results of the 1974 sample census show that the urban population is 35 per cent of the total population, while 65 per cent of the population live in rural areas. The same census also shows that the urban population increased by an average annual rate of 9 per cent while that of the rural areas was only 0.5 per cent. The average annual population growth rate is about 3 per cent and it is estimated that the average growth rate for the urban areas is 7 per cent.

Rapid urbanization and the high rate of rural-urban migration have created problems in housing and in the provision for basic social amenities. Unemployment problems have been compounded by the influx of school leavers who look for prospects of wage employment in the urban areas. However, job opportunities are few at the moment.

In Zambia, males represented 52 per cent of the urban population in 1974 as compared to 48 per cent in the rural areas. This is an indication that more males than females go to urban areas to seek employment. The age groups affected range between 15 and 59 years.

Income distribution is adversely biased against the rural sector of the population. The rural population which constitutes about two-thirds of the total population earns only about 33 per cent of the total income.

Table 2 ZAMBIA - Population *

Age Group	Urban			Thousands Rural			Zambia		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
0-4	180	180	360	300	320	630	490	500	990
5-14	250	250	500	470	480	950	720	730	1,400
15-59	420	370	790	550	720	1,270	970	1,100	2,100
60+	12	6	18	94	74	170	100	77	180
Total:	860	810	1,700	1,400	1,600	3,000	2,300	2,400	4,700
Age Group	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
0-4	11	11	22	10	11	21	10	11	21
5-14	15	15	30	16	16	31	15	16	31
15-59	25	22	47	18	24	42	21	23	44
60+	1	1	1	3	2	5	2	2	4
Total:	52	48	100	47	53	100	49	51	100

* Source: 1974 Sample Census

Urban problems and constraints

With rapid urbain growth, housing has become one of the major problems affecting the population. In the first ten years following Independence, only 10,000 new houses were provided in Lusaka, whose population grew from 123,000 to 400,000 during the same period. People, therefore, had to find ways to provide their own accommodation, and unauthorized settlements mushroomed around the city. Many of the houses the people built were of mud brick with thatched roofs, ressembling the houses in rural villages. In general, the houses were appropriate for the local climatic conditions, but because people lived with the insecurity and fear that they would be evicted and their houses demolished by the government, maintenance of the houses was poor. People lived from day to day, in shelters that everyone regarded as temporary. Today, 250,000 people - half of the inhabitants of Lusaka--live in self-established settlements or squatter areas.

Upgrading urban housing

By 1972, the Zambian government was forced to acknowledge that the squatt er areas represented assets in both social and financial terms, and that upgrading these areas was the least expensive potential solution to the housing problem. An effective upgrading effort could achieve three major aims:

- give security of tenure to the so-called 'squatter';
- improve the physical conditions of the houses; and
- provide basic infrastructure and social services to the communities.

In 1974 the government established the Housing Project Unit within the Lusaka City Council to upgrade three major squatter complexes--Chawama, George and Chaisa. Financed by a joint Zambian government-World Bank loan of US $41.2 million, the project is charged with providing the existing communities with piped water, storm water drainage and proper roads with security lighting. In addition, community facilities such as schools, health clinics, multi-purpose community centres and markets are being built.

In order to make way for new roads and community facilities and reduce housing density, some families had to move out of the existing settlements. These families are being resettled on serviced plots in the overspill areas located adjacent to upgraded settlements.

The project calls for 7,800 new houses to be built in the overspill areas and for 19,500 existing houses to be improved to an acceptable or good standard. A total of more than 160,000 people will benefit from the improvements to these squatter settlements.

A crucial part of the upgrading process, which is based on self-help, is the motivation and participation of the residents in the implementation of the project; thus, two-way communication with the residents is acknowledged as prerequisite to the project's success.

Project support communications

To establish proper facilities for communication between the communities and the Housing Project Unit, Unicef has contributed to the establishment of a Project Support Communications Unit. This unit uses media tools such as videotape, slides, films, audiotape, photographs and printed materials such as posters and leaflets to support the activities of the Housing Project Unit. Innovative approaches using street theatre and popular music from the squatter compounds have proved to be particularly effective in enhancing the flow of information to--and from-- the project participants.

The Housing Project Unit uses local party officials as middlemen in the communication process. Before upgrading started, the political leadership in the squatter compounds was elected by the residents and decisions were made on behalf of, and in direct consultation with, the electorate. It is through this elected leadership that messages are now sent to all of the residents, and it is through collaboration with the leadership that opposition to project operations is avoided.

The communications unit has played an important role in arranging and taking part in briefing meetings and leadership seminars to inform these local authorities about every step of the project. Media such as slides and video-tapes, produced by the communications unit, have been used in

such meetings to review project activities and to stimulate discussion. As a result of this process, feed-back from the community on planned project operations has, in many cases, changed decisions to the satisfaction of the residents.

The communications unit has worked with the community development workers attached to the Housing Project Unit in arranging slides and film shows to augment information delivery to the residents. These events normally take place in the evenings and on weekends. The slides generally pertain to different aspects of the upgrading process and give the residents a visual idea of what is entailed in their participation in the project. The average size of the audience at these meetings is about 500 adults.

Open air theatre

Open-air theatre has been used in the Lusaka project to encourage audience participation and to get feedback from the residents. Three plays have been performed, not only in the squatter areas, but on the radio and television. The theme of one play is the importance of constructing houses that can be completed within the financial means of the participants. The play stresses modest housing and the use of less expensive building materials such as soil-cement blocks, which are a viable alternative to concrete blocks.

Another play, 'It Will Be Better Tomorrow', deals with upgrading in general, and points up the positive impact of the project on the life of the principal character, a skeptical resident of a squatter compound. This play has been performed in English and in two local languages. The theme of the third play, 'How We Built This Compound', is an affirmation of the concept of self-reliance.

The play that originally launched the whole project was entitled 'Distortion' and was written and produced by Kabwe Kasoma for the Unicef Workshop on Communication for Social Development.

Street Music

Since 1976, the Buntungwa Star Band has been attached to the Project Support Communications Unit. The musicians, all residents of one of the squatter compounds, make their own instruments and compose songs about the benefits of co-operative self-help work, Housing Project Unit operations and individual self-help jobs such as soil-cement block making. Lyrics are sung in the most widely spoken of the local languages.

The band performs at at various block-making demonstration sites, attracting residents, passing on the message, and providing 'load-lightening' musical accompaniment for residents who are demonstrating the process of making soil-cement blocks. The band also entertains at meetings of the residents in the compounds, and their songs are used as background music for radio programmes.

The communications unit has collaborated in the release of two seven-inch single records by the Band, publicizing project activities. The records, 'Chitukuko' (development) and 'Twaliculile' (we suffered), have great popular appeal and have managed to spread the messages of the Housing Project Unit to a large audience.

Radio programmes

In 1975, the communications unit participated in the production of a radio programme called 'Self-Help Forum'. Subsequently, successful negotiations with Radio Zambia resulted in the donation of free air time, and several series of programmes have since been broadcast. In the first series, 'Squatter Forum, which consisted of 13 programmes, squatters and project staff shared ideas related to upgrading. Evaluations of the radio programmes indicated a wide and positive reception, and the programmes therefore were continued by the communications unit. A second series of 13 programmes dealt with issues of current interest, such as the introduction of payment-of-service charges and a briefing on occupancy licences.

Other urban communication functions

Another objective of the unit, to establish good communication channels within the Housing Project Unit, is achieved through a monthly newsletter that serves as a forum for the staff to air their views. The communication unit also serves as a liaison with the press (national and international newspapers and magazines), radio and television to create a favourable image of the project.

Visitors from both Zambia and abroad are given an orientation concerning the project that includes lectures, slides, films, transparencies and briefing materials, as well as guided tours in the areas where the Housing Project Unit is operating. By visiting the squatter areas of Lusaka, one can see houses being improved and constructed, largely in a spirit of self-help and self-reliance. Upgrading is, by nature, a continuous process; one that requires on-going and open communication channels, and the success of the Lusaka project, thus far, is an indication that the communication channels available to the project participants are being used to good effect.

3. A case study in the use of portable video in Tanzania in 1971-1973

Introduction

During the period 1971-1973, a small but interesting pilot project was carried out in mainland Tanzania on the use of portable video. The project concentrated on three selected villages and was carried out by a small team of community media specialists. The project was labelled 'Tanzania Year 16' (TY 16) which referred to 1970, that is, 16 years after the founding of the political party TANU in 1954. The TY 16 project was conceived as part of a programme of social mobilization of the Ujamaa (Socialist) Village Movement. One of the aims of the project was to enable leaders in the political party and government to assess the effects of 'villagization' on the population, and also the people's attitudes to this change. It was proposed that portable video could be used as an instrument for feed-back from the people to the party and government for purposes of policy evaluation. The video project was approved by the party and government and was founded on a collaborative basis through international donor agencies.

Video was conceived as an appropriate technology for documenting the realities of village life and, more importantly, as a new channel of communication from the periphery back to the centre. Video, it was suggested, could convey directly to policy makers the villagers' perception of and feelings about development at the grassroots level, village democracy and co-operative ventures, as well as party and government involvement and intervention in these aspects of development.

Process

The concept of using video seemed to promise the basis for an interesting experimental application of community media in a local setting. The idea was to involve a team of village animators or facilitators to make video recordings with small groups, and to use the replay of these tapes both as a means of bringing groups together, and as a stimulus for discussion on the issues which emerged.

Video as a development medium was intended to activate the community, in contrast with traditional uses of media which tended to entertain or educate a passive audience. Because video recordings were played back to the people who participated in the planning and production of the programmes, it was considered to be an immediately involving medium. In addition the tapes were also played back to the decision-makers so that they could evaluate what the villagers had to say. A third and perhaps the most exciting application of the video recordings was the exchange of views between neighbouring villages on matters of mutual concern and interest. In total, over 150 tapes were recorded for the 'Tanzania Year 16' project.

The aim of the project was to produce a record of the historical experience of the Ujamaa Movement: the socialistic, communalistic approach to rural development. The record was to come not from the organizers or officials, but from the people themselves. Video was to be used as a means of self-expression that would make people more critically aware of their situation, promote a dialogue between villagers and their outside leaders, stimulate self-help projects and also build up a large library of audio-visual materials on all aspects of development.

The project began in 1971, and was given the support of the Tanzanian government for fifteen months. During the periods spent in each of the three villages (up to six months), the video team shared day-to-day life, attending meetings, taking part in discussions, sitting in on adult education classes and participating in village festivities. The recording equipment was always on hand, so that events, discussions and situations could be taped as they occurred. Twice a week a video playback screening was held to which everyone was invited. Discussion arising from the showings was also taped, this formula giving the video workers a good idea of the reaction to the type of programming being made.

At the end of the project, there were two hundred hours of audio-visual material, catalogued according to the development topics covered. These included historical, political, social, educational and economic subjects. In addition to the concrete outcome, the video workers considered that the process had been successful in stimulating the communities, in making them more critically aware, and in turning passive attitudes into active ones.

The video team also felt that the process had been successful in bringing about effective dialogue between villagers and central administration, although not with local officials who often felt threatened by the process. As a result of showing village-made tapes to administrators, direct action was taken to sort out problems and difficulties, and local officials felt that representations had been made 'over their heads'.

The tapes made during the fifteen months of operation have been widely used in educational institutions in Tanzania, and by various government departments. It is the intention of the government to continue the taping, and a Video Communication Centre is being set up to provide equipment, training, production and distribution facilities for audio-visual materials.

Results

The experience of 'Tanzania Year 16' shows that portable video recording is a simple, efficient and cheap means of facilitating communication between the community and the authorities, as well as among them, and that the impact on either group is strong.

The project also shows that video is an appropriate method of establishing communication links, and of helping communities to concretize problems and search for possible solutions. It was also shown to be a useful tool in opening up channels for dialogue across bureacratic boundaries.

At the same time, it was also shown that, like other media, video has its limitations. It cannot do everything by itself. It needs to be applied with full field work support and must be used sensitively and honestly. By itself, it cannot bring about development: it can only show what needs to be done and stimulate action. It cannot substitute for careful planning and execution of development projects, but it can sharpen awareness of the kinds of development that are needed and that are feasible.

4. A case study on dissemination of information and education through community media in two areas of Kenya, 1975-1981

Introduction

The following report is based on an action-research project which experimented with the application of community-based media in two areas of Kenya. The project, which was initiated and conducted by the Institute of Adult Studies of the University of Nairobi, is still continuing at the time of writing, but the report concentrates on the first phase which extended from 1975 to 1981.

The project has succeeded in establishing a base for the use of various forms of community media to disseminate adult literacy and numeracy, adult education, co-operative education, environmental education, and agricultural and health education, including general life-coping skills. Adequate motivation among the adult groups in the two areas has been well cultivated, and the necessary infrastructure for listening-cum-discussion group activities has been well established.

A number of lessons have been learnt from this project regarding its feasibility, problems and constraints, costs and possible replication to other areas of Kenya, as well as extension of the project to cover new subjects and topics relevant to national development.

Features of the pilot projects

The main features of the pilot projects in the first phase were:

1. Two groups of people, mainly women, in the Nyeri area. One group was labelled 'Treatment Group' (TG) and the other was the 'Control Group' (CG).

2. Two groups of people, mainly women, in the Machakos area divided into Treatment and Control Groups.

3. Cassette of tape recorded lessons on various topics in the local language.

4. Visual aids to supplement the recorded lessons.

5. Selected group leaders for each of the groups.

6. Government and non-government extension workers and trainers invited to provide specific inputs to the groups.

7. Preparation and production of hand-out materials on various topics.

8. Visits conducted to places of interest to the groups.

Methods of operation of the pilot projects

The two pilot projects established at Nyeri and Machakos were not, in essence, novel or unique in their use of media. Kenya has had numerous projects in the past utilizing the available media such as radio, print, television, film and interpersonal contacts to reach both rural and urban populations. There are regular radio programmes on a variety of topics which include agriculture, health, literacy, adult education, co-operatives and environment. But the major distinction between these general programmes and the programmes used in the pilot projects is that the latter were aimed at a specific audience, dealt with specific topics relevant to the local area, and utilized Kiswahili or, in some instances, the local languages. That is the main reason why the programmes were not broadcast on the national radio network, but used instead the cassette or tape recordings.

The topics covered in the pilot projects were selected after close consultations with the local community and local leaders. Other topics not suggested by the community were added because of their national importance and relevance to development.

Listening groups were formed after consultations with existing formal and informal groups within each community. In Nyeri, for example, church organizations were instrumental in bringing together groups of women who met regularly to discuss matters pertaining to their families, the church and their general welfare.

It was therefore found convenient to build the listening group from the existing groups on a voluntary basis for those women who wished to learn some or all of the things suggested in the topics. At every step, local leadership was consulted and, in addition, the government-employed community development officers were involved.

Leadership training

Perhaps the one unique feature of the pilot projects was the presence of a group leader who was, in every case, elected by the group and given two or three assistants. The secretary of the group had to be literate so that written records of the group activities could be kept by her. The training of the group leaders was carried out systematically by the researcher with the help of other Institute staff and using training materials and notes which had been developed at the Institute (Kinyanjin, Karuri, 1981).

The listening/discussion/action groups therefore had some structure, with agreed sets of roles and established and accepted leadership. The voluntary nature of the activities of the groups was, in itself, the main source of inspiration and motivation because no member of the group was seen to benefit materially. Those who played the leadership roles did so voluntarily in the true spirit of self-help or harambee.

Experience gained in Kenya

There are several experiences which Kenya gained from the pilot projects regarding the use of community media for development.

First, although radio is the most ubiquitous tool for carrying messages quickly and reaching wide sections of the population, both literate and non-literate, it has its limitations in the amount of information it can effectively impart at any one time. It is useful for motivating people to want to learn and seek further detailed information elsewhere but, used by itself, radio cannot effectively teach skills or change attitudes. These are best done in a face-to-face learning situation where discussions, demonstrations, repetition, practice and corrections can be carried out. Hence, the need to use recordings.

Second, a radio broadcast lesson must, of necessity, be general enough to cater for a wide audience and must also be in a language that is understood by most of the listeners. In a country like Kenya where broadcasting is centralized and only selected languages can be used on the national network, the community-based media have to utilize recordings as components of group media together with interpersonal media and group learning activities.

Third, the use of one-way media such as radio to transmit information or ideas can lead to certain problems of comprehension since there is no way of ascertaining whether the message has been received undistorted or not. It is therefore unlikely to be corrected if it is distorted, and the distortion will be recognized by neither the broadcaster nor the listener. Therefore, the combination of distance teaching media with some form of face-to-face communication is essential in a group learning situation.

The organized group is readily prepared to receive, study, interpret and implement the messages. Thus, the distance media can only serve primarily to provide a delivery system, but the actual learning and change of attitude takes place in a group setting.

Fourth, the success of community-based media depends to a large extent on how well the groundwork has been prepared for its reception. Thus, with the two pilot projects in Kenya, it was essential to establish a sound organization at the local level right from the start. Group study was emphasized more than individual learning. Indeed it was later found that group listening and discussion presented a stimulus to some members of the group towards further study. Those who were illiterate, for example, demanded to be taught literacy and numeracy skills. Those who were shy at first about taking on leadership roles gradually gained confidence and later proved to possess admirable leadership qualities.

Fifth, the importance of basing the actual content of the programme on the real needs, interests and aspirations of the learners themselves cannot be over-emphasized. Thus, careful research in the planning stage is vital as an exercise in the needs assessment. In the end, it is the practical, down-to-earth nature of the learning materials which evokes the most effective response from the learners in the long run, and keeps them actively learning on a continuing basis.

Creation of urban community media

One of the most useful outcomes of the action research in the two areas of Kenya was the creation of semi-urban community media for Kenya. This creation, with the necessary infrastructure, will be able to convey different messages related to development and help bring about desirable changes in behaviour and action among semi-urban communities.

The community media thus created have already been used to educate various groups about matters related to agriculture, health, literacy, numeracy, co-operatives, handicrafts and, more recently, about environment. The initial listening-discussion groups have recently been

strengthened by the adult literacy campaigns which have been launched in Kenya since 1978 with the Presidential directive on the eradication of illiteracy. Adult literacy teachers and administrators have found that the ground is already well prepared in the two areas of Myeri and Machakos on which to intensify literacy and numeracy training as well as other development-oriented subjects and topics.

One of the most popular programmes for the adult literacy teachers is the radio series on 'the environment and your health'. The teachers have found that these radio programmes form a very good basis for listening and discussion groups. But, for the moment, the programmes are in English because they are directed to the adult literacy teachers. In turn, teachers are expected to use the content of the programmes to teach their adult groups about their natural environment and how to take greater care of the environment for their benefit and that of future generations. An immediate concern is the effect of the environmental factors on their health and what the groups can do to enhance their well-being as individuals and as members of the community. The best setting for such a learning activity to take place is the local community setting, and the most effective media to support such learning groups are the community media.

The one big advantage of using such media is that they reach a wide range of audiences in the long run although they might begin with one homogenous group. The Kenyan projects although aimed predominantly at women's groups, have indirectly affected young people, young farmers, urban workers and men's groups. As a starting point, the groups that are most likely to be receptive about programmes on environment and health are the women's groups because of their great concern for their health and that of their families. But, eventually, the knowledge gained, the attitudes inculcated and the actions taken with respect to the environment will have a direct or indirect effect on other members of the community. The women's groups in the Kenyan project have also been chosen for the experiment because of an observed lack of objective information and skill training in matters related to the environment and to the health and well-being of the whole community. Furthermore, the training of women's groups is more likely to have a multiplier effect.

The need to interpret environmental education in connection with other elements in an on-going programme of adult education and development is reinforced by the community setting in which the projected community media operates in such a way that the whole learning package can be viewed within a wider context. If the idea of the environment is presented as a concomitant factor in agricultural improvement, along with human and animal disease control and the adoption of new and better types of crops, and as an element in an overall improvement in health and nutrition standards, then the entire community, both of men and women, will appreciate the importance of conserving the environment.

Community networks

The introduction of rural community media in a community setting to disseminate environmental education helps to create and strengthen the community network. The Kenyan projects described in this report to some extent channelled their efforts through the existing social and political networks. Consequently, these existing networks were buttressed by the community media projects.

Examples of social and political groups which were strengthened as a result of the community media projects in the two areas of Kenya were as follows:

1. Nyakinyua Women's Groups (Women's political group)
2. Maendeleo Ya Wanawake Groups (Progress for Women)
3. Church Women's Groups
4. Harambee Women's Groups, e.g. Mabati Women's Self-help groups which banded to replace grass-thatch roofs with corrugated iron sheets.
5. KANU Women's Groups
6. Co-operative Societies
7. Village polytechnics

Economic networks

Besides strengthening social and political networks in the two project areas, it has also become apparent that the best motivation among the learning groups has come from the many economic benefits they have derived directly or indirectly from the projects. Thus, environmental education is likely to be successful if it is viewed in the light of direct or indirect economic benefits which the participating communities are bound to receive. The following economic activities have been initiated or enhanced by the learning activities in which the local communities participated in the two pilot projects areas:

1. Handicrafts
2. Home improvements, e.g. corrugated iron roofing
3. Rainwater tanks
4. Child health and care
5. Co-operative societies
6. Nursery schools building

It is not difficult to see how the progression above is arrived at since the women's groups, as part of their contribution to the local skills, started making and selling baskets. The money obtained from sales was pooled to buy corrugated iron sheets for roofing their houses. The rain water from the new roofs was collected into water tanks making clean water available for use in the home. Income generation activities increased as a result of co-operative societies for the marketing of products. With the savings encouraged by membership of the co-operative societies, sufficient money was found to build a nursery school for the young children as preparation for primary education which, consequently, improved the performance of these children in the examinations for primary education and in the secondary schools. Such a progression, although it might appear far-fetched, has been endorsed by local leaders and administrative officers who are now in a better position to explain the discrepancies in the levels of development of communities in their areas.

Thus, no parent would need to be convinced about the importance of good performance of their children in school if they are to succeed in national examinations and acquire the training required in order to obtain suitable jobs in private and public sectors of the economy. The utility of urban community media in disseminating various forms of education cannot therefore be questioned.

Problems encountered and feasible solutions found

The central thesis of this action-research project is that, given the right orientation and motivation, and provided adequate facilities are available, urban community media should help to speed up development in a given community. Obviously a number of problems and constraints have to be faced before the ideal situation for the application of community media is attained. But one does not have to wait for this ideal situation before tangible results arising from group learning and community activities begin to be evident.

The major problems encountered at the pilot stage of the project included the following:

1. Problems of continuity were experienced not only in the attendance of the group meetings but also in the availability of the group leaders. Sometimes absences could not be avoided and at times other family obligations and responsibilities had to take priority over the group meetings. It was therefore found necessary to elect more than one group leader for each group so that there was shared leadership.

2. Availability of facilities and resources was a major constraint in the early stages of the projects. Through constant consultation and co-operation with government and voluntary organizations it was possible to acquire the necessary materials and equipment for the listening and discussion groups. Some of the materials were provided by the Institute of Adult Studies

whereas the equipment came from the Ministry of Culture and Social Studies. Other non-governmental agencies provided their extension workers free of charge as well as consumable materials, such as batteries and cassette tapes.

3. Language problems will always be experienced in a country like Kenya where different tribal groups are found in one area. Kiswahili is not uniformly spoken and understood everywhere and therefore had to be supplemented by the predominant local language. English programmes and written materials had to be translated first before they could be utilized by the learning groups. In the final analysis it was agreed that, for the community media to be meaningful to people, the local language had to be predominant and supplemented, where necessary, by Kiswahili. English was used only where no equivalent words in Kiswahili or in the local language could be found, or in cases where technical words could not be substituted. Thus, the Nyeri project used predominantly the Kikuyu language while the Machakos project used Kikamba. Simple Kiswahili was found to be useful especially when it was necessary to rely on extension workers from other areas.

4. Problems of co-ordination and integration in a community project are not unusual, especially where a number of agencies and sponsors are operating in one area. Thus, government projects and voluntary projects might face problems of integration if the groups that were purely voluntary felt threatened by the official presence of government agents. It was therefore stressed that the government officials were participating only by invitation and that their interest in the projects was personal. The government input was sparingly applied in order not to kill the local initiative. The Nyeri project was particularly delicate and therefore greater care was exercized to ensure that co-ordination did not imply government take-over of the project and control over decision making.

In both areas, the establishment of local co-ordinating committees for the project was found to be most essential. A wide representation was ensured so that it included the local community leaders, church leaders, chiefs, district and divisional level officers, KANU leaders and ordinary members of the group.

5. Although at first it was envisaged that radio programmes would be used for the listening-cum-discussion groups, it was quickly realized that cassette recordings would be of much greater utility because of their flexibility and adaptability to the local conditions and circumstances. Among the advantages of using the cassette recordings were the following:

1. Groups could listen to the programmes as many times as they wished, at their own leisure and convenience.

2. The groups could, if necessary, change their meeting times to suit the national public holidays, seasons and community diaries.

3. The groups could stop or replay the recording for clarification.

4. Visual aids and other illustrations or models could be used at the pace of the particular group.

5. Groups could record their own discussions or questions and exchange their views with those of another group. This was found to be the most exciting part of the group activities and the most rewarding as far as the down-to-earth reality of urban community media is concerned.

6. Groups could make recordings of interesting radio programmes, listen to them again and discuss them at their own convenience.

7. It was easy and quick to modify the content of any programme if it was found to be unsuitable for the group. The recorded materials could be revised regularly to suit the needs of a particular group and to localize the background as much as possible.

6. Where straight lectures were used, they were found to be very dull and the participants were quick to protest. They preferred interrupted and illustrated lectures where they could ask questions and discuss certain issues at length. Some of the discussions leaders were put off by this

approach but most were quick to realize that an adult group is by and large self-directing and self-pacing. In the end they came to appreciate the pace set by the group and adjusted accordingly.

5. Problems and prospects of urban community media in Africa

Problems abound in the African continent as far as community media accessibility, participation and management go. But at the same time, there are brighter prospects that Africa will be able to incorporate the indigenous and the endogenous forms of communication media in the modern media and devise an acceptable blend of truly community media. The few case studies cited here have shown what could be achieved. They have also pointed to the possible growth-points and directions in which community media could expect to go in future. But there are inherent problems to be overcome or at least circumvented if community media are to play their full part in development.

We shall first examine under sub-headings the problems and constraints that impede the development of urban community media in Africa, and later point out the possible prospects and growth points.

International level

The current debate on a new world information order has made a number of African governments start re-thinking about the sources, quality and impact of the news they receive from media that cut across international boundaries. They are planning a re-evaluation of the past effects and the future trends as far as international news media are concerned. There still exist feelings within Africa that 'imported' is better than 'local', and this goes for news, information and propaganda as well.

So long as some countries and their citizens continue to crave for outside news media rather than develop their own, the creation of community media will remain a dream. Some of the countries are too small and their resources too meagre to permit them to rely on endigenous news sources, quality and distribution. As in the economic fields, it should be possible for Africa to develop information and media 'pacts' on a regional or sub-regional basis so that self-reliance is created and enhanced.

National (government) level

In Africa, instruments of mass media are largely in the hands of governments. The reasons for this state of affairs are not hard to find. Even after several years of political independence, many African governments still experience political instability. They are, therefore, unwilling to leave those instruments of mass media in the hands of the people. Central control is the order of the times, and decentralization, when permitted, is only minimal and the decentralized media still remain under the control of decentralized government organs and institutions.

The power of mass media is well recognized by all governments, and since many do not tolerate dissent or criticism, they would rather exercise central control and not leave media in the hands of the people. When people get sufficient information they begin to ask questions and to demand more. Many African governments do not have sufficient resources to meet all the demands of their people.

Many governments have therefore formulated rigid policies to regulate and control what goes into the media and hence what comes out of them. They argue that they know what is best for the citizenry and therefore they expect to receive predictable responses from their audiences. Controlled or guided democracy in the application of mass media seems to prevail.

Other constraints abound in the actual physical resources which can be made available by governments vis-à-vis other national development priorities such as water, food, roads, hospitals, schools, and so on. Human resources also lack adequate professional training, job motivation and career development in the various fields of broadcasting and media utilization.

Local level

In the area of community media, there is a shortage of trained trainers in community development and extension work, and this leads to a shortage of skilled front-line extension workers at the local level. Therefore, skills in interpersonal communication and the use of indigenous media and traditional patterns of community leadership and animation are lacking or are only found sporadically. Such skills are sine qua non for effective community media. Programmes that have succeeded at the national level often fail at the local level because of these shortcomings.

When there is a shortage of trained and experienced personnel, it means that the few who are available are grossly over-worked and have to perform many other non-professional tasks at the expense of their profession. This leads to poor or no planning, designing and evaluation of the media programmes at the national and the local levels. Research in media is almost non-existent in many countries. Pilot projects, where they have been started, have not gone very much beyond the 'pilot' stages. Replication and reproducibility have failed because of numerous problems of politics, finance, personnel, infrastructure, administration, bureaucracy, management, and so on. Again, decentralization of these functions in most countries is only theoretical, not practiced.

Many governments in Africa are too preoccupied with sheer survival in the current economic and energy crises prevailing in the world. As such, they have little or no time to ponder over promotion of individualism, self-fulfilment or self-actualization of the citizen. Decisions or directives are made centrally and passed on to the people through the established machinery for implementation. Little debate or criticism is permitted. Participation in the practical sense is therefore more of an ideal than a reality. And yet it is through community media that participatory democracy could be practiced. A continuing dialogue is necessary between and among the recipients of community services if the felt needs are to be truly and fully met. These needs have also to be evaluated constantly with the changing times and circumstances, and necessary modifications made in the light of the results of the evaluations.

Media professionals have an important role to play in enhancing the effectiveness of urban community media. If they continue to cling to the traditional image of themselves as the sole initiators, planners, programmers and presenters of news, information, views and entertainment, then they will only impede the development of community media. Conversely, if they take on the role of facilitators and allow the community members to participate actively in initiating, planning and presenting the programmes, then community media will assume their true meaning.

By themselves, urban community media will do little to bring about development unless they are accompanied by practical changes in the social, economic, political and organizational structures of each particular country. But given the right orientation and proper utilization, urban community media can provide an impetus to a wide range of development initiatives.

The case studies provided here illustrate some attempts to offer access to and participation in information, education and entertainment to the local communities, as and when they are ready for such to have access and participation. They also represent attempts to facilitate the expression of a community by the community through the exchange of news and views.

6. General conclusions

Measured against the three criteria governing community media, namely, access, participation and self-management, none of the African case studies fulfils all the necessary conditions. The criterion of self-management is the most difficult to satisfy. The reasons for this state of affairs include the following.

1. Lack of adequate resources within a community to divert to community media programmes and activities. The basic necessities of life are the main preoccupations of most African communities.

2. Lack of sufficient technical and leadership skills within a given community to be spared for self-management of community media programmes.

3. Too much centralized authority and rigid government control of broadcast media within a given country.

4. General problems of under-development, dependent economies, unstable governments and world economic uncertainties all seem to militate against the creation of efficient urban community media which satisfy all the criteria equally and completely.

Community efforts are, however, manifested in varying degrees of effectiveness in media accessibility and participation. The authorities seem to be satisfied that once these two criteria are fulfilled, then community media credibility is assured. The issue of self-management is too sensitive to be left entirely in the hands of small communities.

In Africa, it is perhaps the traditional media which show the greatest potential for effective and manageable urban community experiences for development. They provide cheaper, more relevant and less technical modes of communication within a given community than the purely modern equipment-oriented mass media.

The Zambian case study demonstrates what could be accomplished in upgrading urban squatter settlements to acceptable modern standards through proper use of urban community media--both modern as well as traditional. It also illustrates the fact that it is possible to promote and realize the self-help potential through a community development programme.

Experience elsewhere shows that the failure of urban improvement projects is often due not to the lack of legal security or sound financial arrangements, but rather to the lack of co-ordination between authorities and inhabitants. In order to overcome such problems, suitable urban community media programmes are essential. This has been cited as one of the major shortcomings in a similar urban settlement upgrading project in Nairobi, Kenya (Hoek-Smit, 1976).

Dissemination of information and education are especially important in urban improvement schemes based on self-help by the population and therefore appropriate urban community media programmes would assist and stimulate the self-help or mutual assistance groups and improve co-operation between government bodies, leaders and the inhabitants of housing settlements. They would also help maintain and strengthen the community feeling and indigenous leadership.

Organizing an efficient information flow among all groups concerned would require leadership skills on the part of community workers, local leaders and decision makers. Where proper leadership is available, certain decisions concerning development could even be left to the inhabitants, regarding, for example, the location of roads, schools and markets. Experience with this form of self-reliance and self-management in the Lusaka improvement scheme in Zambia seems to be very positive (Martins, 1976). Conversely, an omission of proper communication media in an urban community project is bound to lead to strained relationship between the authorities and the people, and even among the people themselves.

Whereas issues of media accessibility and participation are easier to deal with in Africa, the major issue seems to be that of self management. Most governments and authorities in Africa argue that for people to be allowed to manage media instruments completely, they must have resources and skills to run them equal to those of the people who have the present responsibilities. Again, as long as governments continue to be the sole providers and supporters of national media, they will not allow any other bodies to control what goes into them or what comes out of them. So far as the governments are concerned, broadcast media are the ones most at issue because of the heavy reliance on them by the majority of the people, both literate and non-literate. The press caters only for the literate and is therefore not censured to the same degree as the broadcast media.

More research and inquiry is called for in Africa to assess the impact of urban community media in the long term. The information available is mostly summary and outlines what has happened. What is now needed is systematic research that can provide necessary information to the projects while they are under way so that they can be re-shaped and re-directed while they are still in existence rather than perform a post-mortem at their completion or discontinuation. This way, the projects will be of greater benefit to the people and the communities involved in those projects, and not just to the authorities, professionals and academics.

Many African communities need to move out of their isolated, parochial settings in order to reach beyond their immediate confines. National unity is a constant call in most

African countries and for this to come about, communities will have to communicate with each other and go beyond their own localities. Hence, the development of community media must continue.

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Chapter 3

THE ARAB WORLD

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THE ARAB WORLD

		Page
1.	Introduction	34
2.	Population distribution in the Arab world and the start of the urban population explosion	36
3.	Communication and urbanization	39
	3.1 General features	39
	3.2 Regional and local radio	41
	3.3 Alexandria local radio (a case study)	43
	3.4 Regional and local television	44
	3.5 Regional and local press	46
	3.6 Small electronic media (including wired radio)	48
	3.7 Face-to-face communication	50
4.	Urbanization--signs of awakening concern	51

1. Introduction

The complex stage of economic and social change prevailing in the Arab world at present has led to population increase, especially in big cities and their environs. This phenomenon is very evident in Arab oil-producing countries, the majority of which may be regarded as 'city states' whose population growth is connected with the increasing development of oil production. We can perceive the same phenomenon in the geographical sites chosen as industrialization centres, a sign that the Arab world is currently undergoing a new urban revolution.

The phenomenon of city explosion in the Arab region has intensified many social and economic problems. Perhaps the main problem is over-population in big cities, and capitals in particular, due to the continuous human flow both from rural areas and deserts, and from other countries, either inside or outside the Arab region. Some of the evident consequences of this are the deterioration of municipal services, cultural diversity and the spread of a sense of isolation and anxiety.

This problem needs urgent treatment based on knowledge of the actual situation with its inter-relating causes and effects, on the experience of others, and on the findings of various sciences.

Since the city is above all a human concentration, any solution which does not involve people in the stages of planning and execution cannot be successful. Participation has come to be one of the main elements which should be noticed when considering urban problems.

Eventually participation leads to persuasion and influence which in turn lead to communication media and their responsibility for confronting urban problems in general and Arab city problems in particular.

A glance at the state of communication media and their relation to urban problems in the Arab region reveals the vast gap currently existing between them. This is the inevitable result of the general tendency prevailing in Arab communication policies, which incline towards centralization, and focus most communication activities on major political and national issues. There is a lack of enthusiasm in adopting the concept of participation: communication is regarded as a vertical means to convey information and ideas rather than an interrelated two-way dialogue.

Nevertheless, the problems of Arab cities have begun to impose themselves on researchers and planners. The inhabitants of many Arab cities have begun to feel the importance of creating inter-linking media to enable them to discuss and solve their problems. In fact, some Arab cities have succeeded in devising particular forms of communication media.

Accordingly, the core of this study is concerned with the following questions:

* What is the role of communication media in confronting urban problems in the Arab region at present?

* What are the guidelines that may help communication media to confron those problems in the near future?

The study is divided into three main sections. The first indicates the gravity of the population situation in the Arab region in general and the urban population explosion in particular. It reviews some problems caused by this explosion. The second section reviews the current situation in communication media in relation to Arab city problems. The last section deals with the signs of awakening concern over the issue of urbanization and communication, and the achievements realized so far in this field, together with a summary of relevant conference recommendations for the future.

2. Population distribution in the Arab world and the start of the urban population explosion

Population distribution

The total population of Arab countries at present amounts to approximately 150 million, or about 4 per cent of the total world population.

Arab Africa represents about 70 per cent of the total Arab territory and population, while Arab Asia accounts for 30 per cent of Arab territory and population.

Arab countries can be grouped according to population volume as follows:

A. Population over 40 million: United Arab Republic of Egypt, i.e. about 26 per cent of the total Arab world population.

B. Population 16-19 million: Sudan, Morocco, Algeria, i.e. about 35 per cent of the total Arab world population.

C. Population 6-12 million: Tunisia, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Syria and North Yemen, i.e. about 28 per cent of the total Arab world population.

D. Population 1-3 million: Somalia, Libya, Mauritania, Lebanon, Jordan and South Yemen, i.e. about 10 per cent of the total Arab population.

E. Populations under 1 million: Kuwait, Oman, Bahrain, United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Djebouti, i.e. less than 1 per cent of the total Arab world population.

The annual increase of population ranges from Bahrain with 1.8 per cent to Kuwait with 5.8 per cent. Other rates are Saudi Arabia 4.9 per cent, Libya 3.7 per cent, Jordan 3.4 per cent, Syria 3.3 per cent and Algeria 3.2 per cent.

Urbanization

The contemporary Arab city is a mixture of past, present and future. The past is embodied in a religious, cultural and historical heritage which is still evident in some urban areas. The present is represented in the development which has occurred in Arab cities over the last half century, as the countries in the region were influenced by the views, institutions, organization and legislation imposed by foreign imperialism--which continued in different forms even after independence. Because of the rapid increase of population and urbanization, the Arab city faces a future full of problems which need urgent and practical solution if the future city is to retain responsibility for administrative, political, social, cultural, religious, recreational and economic functions all becoming more complex year after year.

First of all, we must recognize that Arab urban communities share a number of common characteristics in their architecture and their Islamic cultural heritage. They also share factors which contribute to rapid urbanization, such as the centralization of various services in capitals and cities, and the development of urban centres more rapidly than rural communities.

While the rate of urbanization varies from one Arab country to another according to political, economic and cultural factors, the overall annual rate of urban development in the Arab world (4.5 to 5.5 per cent) is higher than world development rates.

The percentage of urban population increased during the period 1950 to 1974 from 25 to 42 per cent, with rates of increase ranging from 39 per cent in Kuwait to 14 per cent in Saudi Arabia.

Degrees of urbanization may be classified as follows: (figures for 1974, 'urban' defined as populations of 20,000 and above).

Low urbanization: Mauritania 21.7 per cent, Sudan 13.2 per cent, Oman 10 per cent and North Yemen 15.2 per cent. These countries are characterized by low rate of individual annual income, an economy depending on agriculture rather than industry, and a high rate of illiteracy.

Medium urbanization: Tunisia (48.1 per cent), Syria (45.9 per cent), Egypt (44.3 per cent), Jordan (44 per cent), Morocco (37.9 per cent), South Yemen (35.8 per cent), Saudi Arabia (31 per cent) and Libya (29.8 per cent). These countries share an increasing tendency towards agricultural modernization, and medium and light industrialization. In addition there is an increase of internal immigration from rural and desert areas to cities, as well as international immigration across Arab countries and from foreign countries for economic and cultural motives. Average incomes in these countries are higher than those of countries with low urbanization.

High urbanization: Kuwait (90 per cent), Bahrain (78.5 per cent), Qatar (76.5 per cent), Emirates (64.1 per cent), Lebanon--before the last national war (64 per cent), Iraq (62.6 per cent) and Algeria (52 per cent). The fact that these countries (except Lebanon) are oil-producing countries led to rapid urbanization after the oil price explosion of 1973. Extremely high oil profits have contributed to the extension of infra-structural institutions, industrialization, municipal services, and other aspects of the urbanization process. There is a high average income and increasing rates of urban development.

A feature of most of these countries, particularly the Gulf countries, is complete reliance on the city. As the main city dominates and controls the whole country, and as the latter is entirely dependent on the city, they have been called 'city states' a phenomenon worthy of brief notice.

'The city state'

The Gulf countries have shifted from a stable state reached after long experiments over many centuries to a state of readaptation and interim stabilization. This current rapid change is due to a revolution in the basis of economic life. They have moved from an economy relying on natural pearl fishing, small commercial dealings in commodities or cash, limited by a small population and few material requirements, to an economy which relies on an international market and is based on the recent technologies of the oil-production industry. The result is an immense change in the volume of the Gulf financial market, and a population increase hardly known before in the world.

Cities are growing in size and population to an extent that Gulf countries could be considered 'state cities'. It might be more corect to call them 'city states' where the city is the main centre of a country, regardless of the size of the country. Instead of a proportionate distribution of population over cities, rural and desert areas of the country, the city attracts energies and centralizes the population in an inappropriate way within the country's borders.

It is noticeable in Gulf countries that population growth in the principal city is double the population growth of the country as a whole. Half the population in Kuwait and Bahrain, four fifths of the population in Qatar and rather more in the United Arab Emirates reside in the principal cities.

Factors influencing urbanization

Historical circumstances, as well as immigration from desert and rural areas, and the industrial development over the last two decades, have played an important role in turning urban centres into development sources and targets at the same time. The history of Iraq, for example, confirms that Baghdad over many eras used to be a centre for agricultural production; after the spread of various small industries its economic position has increased.

Amman, from a village through which caravans used to pass, became the capital of Jordan after its independence in 1921. Its population was enlarged by the immigration of one million Palestinian refugees after the Arab-Israeli war in 1948 and it doubled in size in a quarter of a century.

Kuwait, after oil was discovered in the 1930s, absorbed a massive number of immigrants from its desert boundaries and from Arab and foreign countries.

The same experience was repeated in most of the Gulf countries where oil wells were developed in recent decades.

The holy cities of Mecca and Medina witnessed continuous development during the last century due to their distinguished religious position within the Islamic world, and more recently have had to expand to serve the needs of pilgrims and tourists. The same applies to Jeddah, harbour, commercial centre and western capital of Saudi Arabia, and the headquarters for diplomatic missions.

In Syria, the cities of Damascus, Aleppo and Homah have witnessed a continuous growth in commerce and industry which are vital sources for economical, social and political life.

Problems of urbanization

The Arab city finds itself, as a consequence of this expansion-explosion in some places, confronting a group of unexpected economic, population and social problems which increase its heavy burdens.

A number of acute problems arise as a result of what could easily be called a social and cultural invasion of the Arab city, the worst consequences of which are the following:

inadequacy of municipal services (lighting, water supply, drainage, etc.) to satisfy the requirements of the city undergoing such expansion;

overcrowding in streets and in public and private transport facilities with resulting inconvenience, accidents and interruption of economic, commercial and public services;

disturbance of educational institutions which are unable to satisfy the increasing demands, and whose limited curricula are unable to assimilate and confront this unexpected phenomenon;

This unplanned expansion in the city leads in most cases to more disorganization in planning. We find that the city borders and slums are overcrowded by poor immigrants and workers without adequate basic services. As a result of this invasion, the suburbs feel restless and their inhabitants start fleeing to new modern areas where regular municipal services are not yet in place. Consequently pressure is brought to bear on distribution centres in the centre of the city with resulting disruption owing to their inability to satisfy the new requirements, and an increased burden on transport systems.

Another cluster of problems may be grouped under the heading of environmental and cultural pollution.

The housing problem sometimes leads to aggression against historic quarters in order to utilize their space for new premises, and, consequently, to irreparable ruin. Similarly, poor planning may lead to attacks on city gardens and common and private recreation places.

There is atmospheric pollution as a result of not adopting the necessary regulations for the use of combustible materials burned in transportation and industry; and there is aural pollution caused by overcrowded transportation and noise arising from various sources without any restriction. Similarly, there is environmental pollution resulting from human, and industrial waste and a lack of means for regular waste collection.

Another phenomenon which is also linked with Arab city explosion is uneven and inequitable distribution of cultural and recreational services among city districts. Sometimes districts are completely neglected at the original planning stage, whereas each should be provided with adequate educational, cultural and entertainment institutions and commercial distributions centres which would have relieved the city centre from a burden and reduced the intensity of the transportation problem.

Social isolation is another problem which affects ethnic and cultural minorities in Arab cities. These minorities--religious or ethnic groups or foreign personnel--often live together in certain districts preserving their own system of values and ways of life, without having the desire or sometimes the opportunity to mix with the city community. They often represent a reactionary social force.

The individual and the community in most Arab cities hardly feel that they have a role in confronting the city problems, and thus the whole burden is laid on the city administration and municipality, deprived of valuable public participation.

The isolation of Arab women and their failure to participate in public life in some A rab societies add to the complexities of the situation in view of the vital role women play in societies.

Nor can we overlook the phenomenon of anxiety and delinquency when speaking of Arab city problems. This is characterized by the following:

Economic pressure as a result of unplanned immigration; unfulfilled aspirations caused by the new conditions in the city; lack of stable system of values in a community characterized by population instability, overt or concealed unemployment resulting from a lack of balance between employment opportunities and the influx of population; lack of opportunity for young people to expend energy in cultural and recreational activities.

In short, public participation in Arab cities in most cases is either missing, misinterpreted or strictly limited. Authority is normally left to local officials appointed by governments; if municipal or local councils exist in the city, their members are recruited mostly by the government, and if members are elected, they often lack the experience and ability to undertake the planning responsibilities that future cities require.

3. Communication and urbanization

3.1 General features

Since urbanization has taken this acute form in the Arab region, we must next consider the role of communication in confronting the resulting problems. Communication in this context is not confined to mass media but involves all communication forms including face-to-face communication of the kind taking place in cultural or information centres in some Arab countries.

Before reviewing the communication situation in various Arab countries, it is worth drawing attention to major general features common to all.

The extent of freedom in the press and other media, their relations with authorities, the degree of political and social commitment imposed on them by the existing political system, individual freedom to congregate in clubs or other social associations and freedom to express personal views, and the system's concern to become acquainted with those views and intervene to conduct them directly or indirectly--all these communication elements depend entirely on the existing form of political system in each Arab country.

Women's participation in communication activities and the cultural and social framework within which young people can act, depend on the prevailing cultural situation.

As a result of special political and cultural situations, many Arab countries have begun to witness the development of forms of face-to-face communication unknown in other regions, such as those relating to religious, charitable, and political institutions which will be explained later in the section.

A strong tendency exists in different Arab countries towards centralization of media. The great majority are concentrated in the capitals or one of the principal cities. They are rarely found in provinces or other urban centres except in the following cases:

- when distance or geographical circumstances hinder the reach of communication output.
- when certain provinces or urban centres have a special political or social importance to the existing governing system which receives the production of special messages or the use of special media.
- when the province or urban centre possesses different linguistic or ethnic characteristics which necessitate special means of communication

If we turn to the control of communication and mass media, we find that radio and television in all Arab countries are state-owned and consequently are under the government's control (except one of the TV channels in Lebanon and even in this case, the Lebanese Ministry of Information controls its news bulletins). They are operated like any of the other government institutions.

As for the press, the situation differs from one system to another. In some Arab countries the press is entirely governmental or owned by the ruling party. Other Arab systems believe in the need to have a private press in addition to that of the government or governing party. Even here, political systems attempt to impose control either through financial participation or subscription (sometimes called 'aid') or through censorship or through special legislation 'organizing' press activities.

The same applies to face-to-face communication. One country may establish communication centres, party centres or cultural or religious centres, or invite other parties or private organizations to do so. Others do not permit any of these undertakings except in rare cases and by special permission, and consequently with special control.

The tendency of governments to exert power over communication accords with the principle of centralization; both are related. The need to oversee means that communication centres have to be near the centres of authority in the capitals or other principal cities.

It should be mentioned here that governmental control over mass media and the attempt to control communication activities, and the centralization of media in the capital or the principal city, are not regarded in most Arab countries as restrictions on freedom of expression. On the contrary, they are regarded as a guarantee that the principle of freedom of the individual or a group of people will not be exploited against the interests of the public, and will act as a precaution to ensure that communication activities are directed towards the benefit of the people.

This concept is based on the belief that communication activities are risky in their effects on individuals and communities. As a consequence, communication activities should not be left to individuals to exploit for their own profit. The government should consider itself responsible for directing and conducting these activities like other public services such as the administering of the providing of justice, internal and external security and elementary education. It follows that government supervision of these activities is not meant to deprive individuals of the right to participate but on the contrary to guarantee their participation provided that it is not abused.

It is natural that as a result of this concept the influence, direct or indirect, of the political system is more visible in communication activities than any others. Politics and entertainment became the prevalent elements in communication media often at the expense of developmental, cultural and educational themes. Communication has proceeded in one direction from top to bottom and disregarded two-way directions. Thus 'participation' becomes a motto without content.

If these are the general trends as perceived by the writer, it does not mean that they are applicable everywhere. There are many cases where communications systems attempt to develop far from the temptations of politics or entertainment.

Besides, there is an excuse for this apparently discouraging picture of communication in Arab countries. These countries were under foreign occupation for many years, and the majority did not attain to their independence until the last few decades. In spite of their 'independence', the relics of the old colonial situation continue to be an obstacle which has to be constantly confronted by promoting the political awareness of citizens and the continuous mobilization of Arab communities.

Finally, the absence of local media dealing with Arab city problems does not mean that the problems of urban communities are entirely neglected. Central mass media are obliged to consider these problems because their very urgency imposes itself from time to time. The media regularly tackle urban problems in some centres by allocating specific air time or space to them on a daily or weekly basis. But in view of the various

concerns of central media, urban problems usually occupy a minor space which is not proportionate to their importance.

The opportunity is greater in the case of regional mass media. It is true that these media should be concerned with urban and rural communities of the region as well, but because of purely practical reasons, regional mass media are mainly concerned with the principal cities where they are situated.

A communication medium in the capital of a certain province has a double function: it is a regional medium serving the province with all its various communities, and a local medium for the city from which it originates, feeling a basic obligation to serve its community.

Taking all these points into consideration, we can now turn to a survey of communications in relation to urbanization in the Arab region.

3.2 Regional and Local Radio

Morocco

In 1971 Morocco started to establish regional radio services, in addition to the main radio centre in Rabat.

The number of regional radio services in Morocco at present amounts to six, in El Ayoun, Casablanca, Agadir, Oujda, Marrakech, Fez in addition to the Tangier station which has a special position discussed in detail below. All these stations operate side by side with the central radio service in Rabat using medium wave for their regional and local services. Their programmes are in Arabic, but also in French, English and Spanish in most cases, as well as Berber. They are supervised by deputies to the Director of the central radio in the capital which belongs to the Moroccan Ministry of Information. Regional programme plans are discussed in the regular meetings held between heads of radio stations where the budget and programmes for each station are considered.

These regional services are complementary to the programmes transmitted by the central radio service in the capital. Each station is concerned with presenting news and current affairs programmes, conveying to listeners in all Morocco an image of news, artistic, cultural, sporting and social activities of the region in addition to its folk heritage.

The stations operate within the framework of the Moroccan Ministry of Information which is responsible for defining the budget for each station and appointing its supervisors and officials in such a way that every regional station, is committed to the general and national targets of the country.

Regional stations follow the same system of the capital central station which ceases broadcasting for a period while transmission shifts to another station of the region; there transmission starts for a period and then shifts back to the capital and so on. The stations operate as relays for the central service which starts at 8 a.m. and broadcasts until 3 a.m. the following day, except for the period between 3 and 6 p.m. when regional stations separate to present their own programmes. Radio Morocco follows a system of covering evening programmes every day after midnight until 3 a.m. from one of the regional stations successively.

Fez Radio Station may be quoted as an example of the regional role played by Morocco Radio regional services, in addition to their role in serving the mother cities where they operate. The station started operation in 1981 with three hours daily transmission from 3 to 6 p.m. The programmes are in Arabic only and all are locally produced. Transmission extends to a number of neighbouring provinces. In addition to coverage of national activities the station focuses on municipal activities in the province and considers itself as representative of all social classes. It has a close relationship with the University of Mohamed Ben Abdullah in Fez city and educational institutions in the province. It pays special attention to lectures, educational programmes, symposia and cultural activities in the city and the province and it exchanges news and programmes with other regional stations. Hence Fez

Radio Station serves the province and Fez City in addition to its services on the national level.

As for Tangier Radio, it has a special position. It is considered the most important regional radio service and as the foremost communication institution in Morocco--and not simply in the province. Its daytime transmissions cover three quarters of Morocco and all the country at night. It played an outstanding role in Moroccan life both before and after independence. It transmits 18 hours daily, 14 hours in Arabic and the rest in Spanish, French and English. Commercials are broadcast between the programmes which are characterized by presenting original Moroccan songs and folk songs from the mountains.

Algeria

Central radio in Algiers, the capital, broadcasts three radio services and in addition there are two regional radio services: Constantine Radio focuses on local news of the city and province, sports activities and presents a range of public service programmes devoted to various classes. Its transmissions join those of the central, first channel in the evening. Oran Radio follows the same system.

Tunisia

Radio Sfax started operation in 1961. In 1969 it increased its power to 100 KW after establishing a new station in Sidi Mansur. Transmission hours increased from 3 to 8 hours daily. Since 1975, Radio Sfax has broadcast four news bulletins and eight news programmes daily. It also broadcasts some extracts from programmes presented on the national radio for one hour daily. The aim of establishing this regional radio was to confirm decentralization in communications and convey the voice of Tunis to regions which do not otherwise hear it. Its programmes draw on the folk and artistic heritage which characterizes the region, and it has the task of serving its listening communities and contributing to their political and social awareness.

El Monastir Radio was established in 1977 on the same system on which Radio Sfax operates. El Monastir city has a special importance in the public life of Tunisia. It is the city where President Bourguiba was born and the site of his private residence in addition to its touristic and cultural activities.

Programmes of the regional radio in El Monastir tend to serve the whole region but focus in particular on social and cultural activities in the city, the province's principal city.

According to the Tunisian member of Unesco's meeting on 'Self-Management and Participation in Communication', held in Belgrade in 1977, the stations at Sfax and El Monastir have provided the chance for self expression to professional organizations and have generally stimulated a revival of cultural life in the provinces they serve.

Salalah Regional Radio in Oman

Salalah is the principal city in the southern region of Oman. Since 1975 Salalah radio has been transmitting on 100 kW and is equipped with modern studios and advanced technical rooms. Its main purpose is to promote cultural and political awareness in this southern region whose territory amounts to 70,000 square km with a population of about 150,000 Radio Salalah transmits 7 hours daily from afternoon till midnight. It broadcasts over the region of Oman in classical Arabic and local dialect. Programmes are locally produced besides some imported productions from the national radio service in Muscat. A General Manager runs the station within the Omani Radio and TV organization which is a part of the Ministry of Information and Culture.

The station contributes towards the dissemination of political awareness among citizens of the region especially against sharp opposition political trends. Its fundamental aim is political, even though it presents public service programmes in the fields of agriculture and fishing. It also contributes to discovering local talent and disseminating the folk arts of the region.

Northern Yemen

Sana'a Radio, in the capital of Yemen Arab Republic, was inaugurated in 1955 with a power of 25 kW. Because of geographical circumstances, the transmission was limited to the capital area. In 1965, a radio station of 60 kW was installed in Ta'izz city. It was directed mainly to the southern part of Yemen to encourage the revolution against British colonization at that time. The station carried on after the independence of Yemen, and focused its attention on serving the province covered by its broadcasts through a range of public service programmes directed to various sectors and classes of listeners. Programmes last for four hours daily.

In 1970 a local radio service was inaugurated in El Hodeida City, the principal harbour of Yemen Arab Republic on the Red Sea. It uses a 5 kW station to serve listeners in this big city, working on the same system as Alexandria local radio discussed below.

Aleppo Local Radio (Syria)

A local radio service in Aleppo in North Syria was established in the mid-fifties and continues to this date. Aleppo city is a community that has its own characteristics within Syrian society and a special deep-rooted political and cultural importance. This local service is for two hours daily, mostly public service programmes. The city population is about 800,000 representing 10 per cent of the population in the Syrian Arab Republic.

3.3. Alexandria Local Radio (Egypt) (a case study)

On July 14th 1954, a ministerial decree was published for the establishment of the first local radio in Egypt to be followed gradually by a network of regional and local radio services. According to the decree, the object was the enlargement of a democratic local governing basis, the promotion of provinces and the stimulation of development and prosperity in every part of the country.

Alexandria Local Radio started broadcasting the same month with 1/2 kW transmission power, for one hour daily in Arabic and half an hour in Greek, Italian and French, for the benefit of the large communities of these nationalities who lived in Alexandria at that time. Less than two months later this foreign service was cancelled, because it was considered that the foreign programmes broadcast by Central Radio in Cairo were sufficient. Transmission hours of the Arabic programmes increased to three hours.

On 6 June 1957 the Alexandria radio station moved from the small four-room apartment to new specially-built premises consisting of 6 studios, offices for administration and engineering operation departments, control and maintenance rooms, in addition to a special building for local transmitters. Transmission hours increased to eight hours on weekdays with more at weekends and special occasions.

Programmes include the following:

- news and current affairs programmes focusing on news of the city, sea conditions and weather forecasts, traffic in the seaport (Alexandria harbour is Egypt's main outlet on the Mediterranean) public service news relevant to local organizations, the University, sporting and social clubs.

- public service programmes concerned mainly with local problems and various social sectors in the city, providing a platform for discussion between citizens and officials.

- promotion of the city's cultural activities through programmes on literature, art, science, the press, history and prominent personalities in its past and present.

- one hour of 'Open University' consisting of educational programmes on various subjects for students of Alexandria University, prepared and presented by University staff.

Entertainment programmes occupy less than half the transmission hours. Music, singing and variety programmes are prepared and presented by Alexandrian artists, trained in radio performance by the station. Its arts programmes are of a high standard corresponding to the taste of the local listener. It now possesses two radio orchestras of local musicians and singers. The same system applies in the field of drama.

Alexandria radio transmits commercials in between programmes, about commodities and services which interest local listeners. In this way it attracts its audience and earns extra income.

Alexandria radio is one of the Egyptian radio services, and ultimately one of its administrative units, given a degree of appropriate independence in both planning and implementation within the general programme policy without the intervention of any higher authority.

Some field research carried out in Alexandria in 1973 on a sample of 650 people aged 15 and over found that 58 per cent listened daily to Alexandria Radio. Listeners were asked about how they would feel if they were unable to listen to the radio for 2 or 3 days. Seventy-nine per cent said they would feel annoyed, 9 per cent said they would feel bored and isolated from the outside world, and 12 per cent said they would not mind. Asked whether they listened to news bulletins, 56 per cent stated they were listening to them regularly while the remainder listened according to circumstances. The principal programme of Radio Cairo occupied first place as a source of news (82 per cent), followed by Alexandria Radio (78 per cent).

The interpretation is that Alexandrian listeners listen to the central programme service to hear national and international news then shift to Alexandrian local radio for news of their city.

3.4 Regional and local television

Saudi Arabia

Saudi Arabian television officially started operation in 1965 in both Riyadh and Jeddah at the same time. Two years later both Holy Mecca and Taif were provided with two television transmitter stations linked by microwave to Jeddah. Qasim and Medina El Munawarah TV followed in 1968 and Dammam TV in 1969.

Thus Saudi Television, with 5 production centres, became an enormous TV establishment in the Gulf region. All these centres used to transmit their programmes separately to the surrounding regions, acting as regional and local TV services, although a proportion of programmes used to be exchanged among all of them. But this local transmission was not the main aim of the project, and was only imposed by geography and the distance between the centres and the fact that there was no terrestrial or space network to interlink them.

As soon as interconnection was achieved through a microwave network built in 1975, the local system was abandoned and the regional and local TV stations were linked with central transmissions from Riyadh via a terrestrial network extended from Dammam East to the western region, with the possibility of transmission from any subsidiary TV station; but only through Riyadh.

In the period from 1975 to 1977, gradual conversion took place from monochrome transmission to colour. Major TV centres are now being established in principal cities to provide the means of TV programme production with the aim of enriching the network. It was planned that ten such production centres would be in operation by the end of 1981.

Oman

A situation similar to that in Saudi Arabia occurred in Oman. Although Omani TV started operation in 1974 in Muscat, its broadcasts did not reach the southern region, and this led to the establishment of a regional TV station in Salalah, capital of Dhofar province, 1200 km from Muscat. As previously mentioned in the regional radio section, the region has a special political significance.

As soon as a terrestrial network was established at the end of 1979, TV transmission came centrally from Muscat; the Salalah TV station was converted into a relay station and local production centre.

Iraq

In Iraq, the same concept of TV network centralization was applied, but with two exceptions.

After the completion of the microwave network in 1976, 5 TV regional stations were linked to the central station in Baghdad. The regional stations had been established between 1968 and 1975 in the following governorates: El Tamin, El Basra, Ninoy, Maisam, El Muthanna and Kirkuk.

A special building with similar architectural specifications was established for each of these regional stations. Each consists of two studios, one for production and the other for presentation, a master control room, a library, a transmitter building, plus administrative offices. Some stations were equipped with the OB van. Each station transmits on two channels.

Before the establishment of the central network, each of these stations used to produce one to two hours of programmes daily. The local programmes used to deal with the news of the city, and the province, cultural, political or sporting activities, folk arts and local talents, leaving national issues to be covered by the films and tapes sent from Baghdad.

After being linked to the central network, all this declined. The activities of these regional TV stations, except Kirkuk, are limited now to half an hour between 7.30 and 8.00 p.m. on the 2nd channel from Baghdad.

Kirkuk station is the exception. Since 1967 it has broadcast in Kurdish and is directed to the Kurds of Iraq living in the region. It receives the first programme from Baghdad in Arabic.

Morocco

Morocco TV transmits its programmes centrally from Rabat, the capital. When TV started in 1962 transmission used to be effected from Casablanca. When the central transmitters were transferred to Rabat, Casablanca continued its TV production with news, serials and TV plays, representing 40 per cent of local production on Morocco TV. The programmes (except the news) are all sent, after recording, to Rabat to be transmitted on the national network.

As for news, the situation differs. At 7 p.m. the national network joins Casablanca for local news. The same procedure is followed at 8.30 p.m. to inject local news from Casablanca into the main national news bulletin. There are plans for establishing production studios in Wadi El Dhahab, Tetuan and, in view of its political importance, a regional station operates in El Ayoun city, the capital of the Desert provinces.

There is a project for linking 'El Ayoune' desert station to the national network via satellite.

Sudan

The Gezira region in Sudan is characterized by its high fertility and for successful cotton production. The Sudanese authorities are concerned to develop its human capabilities in parallel with its economic significance. For this reason a regional TV service was established in Wad Medani, the capital of the region. It belongs to the Ministry of Education, and though called 'Educational TV', it is not so in the traditional sense, being a general service with a significant proportion of developmental and adult education programmes.

Algeria

Because of the nature of Algerian geography, central TV transmission from Algiers the capital could not reach remote areas and a group of TV local/regional stations had to be established in the three biggest cities after Algiers--Annaba, Constantine and Oran.

In view of the exorbitant costs of linking these TV stations terrestrially, the Algerian authorities rented a channel from INTELSAT by a contract in 1974, to be renewed every year. Regional stations are thus linked with Algiers from where all transmissions take place during the evening period. During the morning and afternoon periods, the regional stations present their own local output of news, public service and local artistic programmes.

Aleppo--Syria

When Syrian TV started transmission in 1960, it had two centres for production and transmission, one in Damascus, the second a local TV station for the city of Aleppo. This was because central transmission from Damascus could not reach Aleppo in the far north, and because of the special significance of Aleppo in the political, economic and cultural life.

Aleppo TV programmes were locally produced focusing on local activities of the city, discussing its problems, presenting its folk arts and talents in addition to a proportion of programmes sent from central TV in Damascus and from Egyptian TV (there was political unity between Egypt and Syria in the first year of TV transmission in both countries). As soon as the microwave network was established in Syria in the mid-seventies, all transmission came centrally from Damascus.

3.5 Regional and local press

The situation with the press hardly differs from that of radio and TV services as regards concern extended to provinces and urban centres.

A central press is the norm. Regional and local press exist only when transportation difficulties or distance hinder the reach of central press output, or if those provinces or cities have special political or social or cultural significance. Technological changes in the field of printing and transportation diminished the extent of this decentralization, and consequently press activities tended to be central and national, published mostly in the capital or the second principal city.

General considerations

The following facts should also be taken into consideration:

The central press frequently devotes fixed daily or weekly pages or sections to some provinces or cities, thereby serving urban centres and rural provinces besides its general national services. Nevertheless this local role can never be expected to be as competent and efficient as a local specialized press serving local communities. The pressure of public opinion and the citizens' sense of belonging to a community of a certain city (or province) sometimes fosters ways and means of overcoming legal, political and economic problems and publishing local newspapers to serve the community.

Regional newspapers published for a certain province turn out in most cases to be local newspapers focusing on the capital of provinces where they are published. This is mainly because education standards in the capital of the province are higher than other areas, and consequently, so is the size of readership.

Even national central newspapers issued from one of the central cities other than the capital distributed all over the country are regarded as focusing their attention on problems of that city in particular in addition to national concerns.

In the case of the 'city states' where the great majority of the country's population and public services are centralized in the capital, the press published in the capital is national, general and central, and at the same time local, serving the city/capital community.

In light of these general considerations, what follows is a review of the Arab situation regarding local newspapers published in cities (other than the capitals), according to the information collected from different sources, foremost of which is the bibliography issued in 1973 by the Arab Educational, Cultural and Scientific Organization (ALECSO) which depends primarily on official data from member Arab states.

A brief detailed review of the Domyat newspaper which serves this Egyptian city concludes the section.

Saudi Arabia

Saudi Arabia ranks first among Arab countries as regards the number of newspapers and periodicals issued from principal cities other than the capital. The reason for this is mainly the difficulties of transportation to remote areas during the era in which the press was first established. This was the period of the 1950s and 1960s when there was a significant extension of education in Saudi Arabia, and a subsequent increase in newspaper readership as well as an increase in national and individual incomes resulting from the rise in oil revenue. During the next period of economic boom in Saudi Arabia which saw the development of surface and air

transport between its different principal cities, the Saudi government, with the intention of promoting cultural life, cancelled all air freight charges on Saudi newspapers dispatched from any place in Saudi Arabia to any other through the government-owned Saudi airlines. Thus newspapers of various provinces and cities turned from regional or local into national newspapers, but they still belong to the province of the city where they are published.

In general, the Saudi press is non-governmental; newspapers and periodicals published by non-governmental press institutions in line with economic and political concepts adopted in Saudi Arabia. Of course the press functions within the framework of current legislation regulating press freedom and its relationship to the ruling authority.

Syria

In Syria three local daily newspapers are published in the three most important cities after Damascus: Aleppo, Homs and Homah. They are all published by the semi-official organization namely 'El Wehda Institution for printing, publication and distribution'.

Individual journalists have been permitted to continue publishing local periodicals; for example, El Nass weekly newspaper, which started in 1953, has continued to be published in Aleppo, and Sout El Forat monthly magazine which started in 1945 which comes from Deir El Zowre city.

Northern (Arab) Yemen

Taez city in the Arab Republic of Yemen is the second principal city after the capital Sana'a. In view of geography and the difficulty of transportation the government resolved to publish a daily newspaper from Taez named El Gomburiya. Starting in 1969, it is supervised and financed by the office of the Ministry of Information in Taez. In addition, a weekly periodical named Maerab is published by one of the famous journalists in Taez.

Algeria

'The National Press Company' in Algeria, a semi-official organization, undertook publishing El Nasr daily in Arabic from Constantine city, the second city after Algiers. In Oman a daily newspaper, El Gomhuriya, is also published.

Since 1974, and as a result of the conclusion of the contract with INTELSAT by which the Algerian government hired a space channel for internal TV links, the central national daily newspapers in Algiers, the capital, can now send their photo pages via a satellite channel, to be reprinted and published in the main principal cities, and this, of course, affects the circulation of local press.

Morocco

There are three daily regional newspapers in Morocco: published in Agadir, Al Lawaa and Tetuan. There is also Maroc Soir from Casablanca, an official daily evening national newspaper in French, which devotes two full pages in every edition to Moroccan main cities. One of these two pages is devoted entirely to Casablanca and the second to the other main cities.

A weekly newspaper is published in Arabic and French in Tangier and three weekly newspapers are published in Casablanca in Arabic and French.

Iraq

Apart from newspapers published in Kurdish in the northern provinces of Iraq, and regional or local newspapers published in languages other than Arabic to serve ethnic and linguistic minorities in Iraq, it would be hard to find any regional or local newspapers.

There has been a weekly newspaper in El Nagaf since 1972. It has a religious character because the city is a distinguished religious centre for the Shi'ite Moslems.

A weekly newspaper is published in El Samawah for the city and the provinces. It is published by the governor's office's local committee for public activities--one of the organs of El Baath ruling party in Iraq.

Egypt

At present, no daily, regional or local newspapers are published dependent on the central press in Cairo. Although Alexandria has witnessed within recent times the rise of many local daily newspapers, all failed in the face of the political and economic changes which have recently prevailed in Egypt especially during the last two decades. There are five weeklies, published in El Ismaiha, El Mansourah, El Fayuom, Meet Ghamr and Domyat.

The papers in the last four cities are published by individual journalists who are independent of official or public institutions. They are run on a commercial basis. The government approved their publication for exceptional reasons due to their history and their limited local services. They are exempt from press legislation in Egypt which does not normally permit individuals to publish private newspapers, as this right is confined to officially recognized political, professional or cooperative organizations.

Most of these periodicals are published irregularly except the last one which deserves closer attention since it is a model of a genuine local press service.

The newspaper Akhbar Domyat has been published regularly for 30 years from Domyat, a city located at the outflow of the River Nile. A weekly newspaper, the number of its tabloid pages varies between 18 and 26. It is not supported by the government or any of the official organs in the governorate. It is one of the very few newspapers owned by an individual in Egypt. The same person is the owner, the General Manager and chief editor. He is the senior member of the Egyptian Journalists Union. Among the most important topics reported on by this newspaper are the news of the governorate and its projects, comments on faulty administrative or social practices, marriages and deaths, in addition to an editorial regularly presented by one of the city's famous writers. The newspaper also includes general social, scientific articles and others analysing the city problems and suggesting ways of solving them.

The success of this newspaper depends on the contribution of a group of Domyat citizens who co-operate by editing, proof-reading or writing for no payment, in gratitude to the newspaper which is devoted to the service of their city. Its editing room has become one of the most important meeting places in the city where prominent young people and leaders of the city either on the official or public levels meet every evening.

A group of outstanding citizens, some of whom live outside the city, contribute by writing for the newspaper as an expression of their connection with their city. The normal weekly circulation of Domyat newspaper is 5,000. It depends on annual subscriptions from Domyat citizens either inside or outside the city who are keen to follow Domyat news. The newspaper has its own private printing machines.

3.6 Small electronic media

As an outcome of progress in communication technology, some electronic methods have developed other than open broadcasting by radio and TV, some of which are used in the Arab region as follows:

- Audio cassettes: their use became popular in different Arab countries, focusing in the first place on songs, recitation of the Holy Koran, light plays and entertainment programmes. They are produced by private institutions without control so far by national authorities. They have begun to be used in the field of education and especially in teaching foreign languages and have proved their efficiency in this field especially in Egypt, where there has been a great increase in population and an urgent need to support educational services by additional aids. Cassettes also have begun to be used as a means of diffusing political opposition to some existing Arab systems. They are not yet used in the field of urbanization--a possibility which could be considered in the future.

- Video cassettes: their use has been popular only in a few Arab countries due to their high costs, and is confined so far to dramatic programmes, songs, plays and feature films. There is a project not yet crystallized to utilize video cassettes for educational purposes in the state of Qatar. This communication technology is not yet used in confronting urbanization problems in the Arab region.

- Subscription TV: TV services directed to limited audiences of subscribers who receive TV transmission not through cable networks but through ultra high frequencies, directed to TV sets supplied with decoders so as to receive the signal. Payment of a fee permits use of the decoder and in this way the TV service gains revenues in addition to its profits from commercials.

The system has begun to be used in one of the cities of the Arab Emirates. There is also a project under study to be applied in Egypt. In both cases the use envisaged is commercial and unrelated to educational or developmental purposes, or for confronting urbanization problems.

- Closed circuit TV (CCTV) is found in many Arab countries, up till now for purely educational purposes and consequently centralized in some universities, institutes, scientific research centres, and in particular in faculties of Medicine, Engineering, Education and Communication.

Experiments in CCTV have begun in Egypt for developmental purposes, especially for family planning campaigns. Some information centres spread over Egyptian provinces were provided with this new technology but the experiment is still restricted.

- Wire radio services are used to serve a small city or district independent of the central radio services. Transmission reaches recipients not through the airwaves but through a cable network. This type of service differs from merely placing sound amplifiers in some public places to broadcast general radio programmes. Such arrangements link amplifiers to the broadcasting centre through a cable network and have been used in some poor Arab countries such as Somalia, Mauritania or in other countries on special occasions.

Wired radio was used in two Egyptian cities for historical reasons, but although the circumstances which led to the establishment of the two services are over, they have continued to serve the two cities as a substitute for a local broadcast radio service. They are Port Said and Suez Local Radio Services.

Port Said Local Wire Radio Service

The need to establish a local wire radio service in Port Said city became apparent during the Egyptian-Israeli War in 1967. It was a swift, easy medium for communication between official authorities and the city inhabitants. Over the next two years, while the confrontation between Egypt and Israel spread over the entire Suez Canal Eastern Bank, it was necessary to communicate information to citizens on matters of security, military movement and supplies.

The wired radio service was established in a secure place provided with an apparatus granted by Radio Cairo. The centre is connected with audio amplifier apparatuses distributed over 14 districts in different parts of the city. In each of these districts four or five audio receivers were installed. The network is linked by telephone lines within the telephone network service.

The governorate appointed a technical person to supervise operation and maintenance and two other people for editing and presentation. The service transmits every day, except Fridays, in the morning, afternoon and evening.

Transmission starts at 8 a.m. with a recitation of the Holy Koran followed by a religious talk, then songs and campaign mottos. At noon, there is a local news bulletin containing news of official local organizations and information on economic affairs in Port Said, now a free zone city. The bulletins are repeated at 6 p.m. This local wire radio is still performing its service in the expectation of being converted into a local wireless radio for Port Said.

Suez Local Wire Radio Service

In 1961, a local administration system began to be applied in Egypt which stimulated the establishment of a local radio service in Suez, using telephone wires interlinked by different technical means, to transmit to various districts in the city. During the recent expansion of the city, this local radio service was connected to the cities of Faisal and El Sabah. The Governorate public relations department supervises the operation of the station which is financed from the city budget. Graduates from the technical schools in Suez assist in operation and maintenance.

The radio broadcasts news of different activities in the city on the official and popular levels, as well as advertisements and information concerning public services such as job vacancies in both the public and private sector. It also covers political conferences and sessions of the city's public council.

The service played an important role during the 1973 war, especially in the period when the city was besieged. News and instructions concerning supplies and the inhabitant's security used to reach them promptly through this wire radio.

3.7 Face-to-face communication

The Arab region is famous for its continued dependence on face-to-face communication and traces exist of some traditional communication methods which prevailed before the predominance of modern communications. This may be attributed to the human element in face-to-face communication which is a part of Arab and Islamic culture, to the high proportion of illiteracy found in many Arab countries which hinders the reach of media such as the press and other printed materials, and to the low standard of individual income in some Arab countries which makes access to traditional or face-to-face communications more favourable. Finally, new political and social systems in some Arab countries have imposed new methods of face-to-face communication.

A brief review of these communication methods follows:

Mosques

Mosques play an important role as face-to-face media in Arab countries where Islam is the religion of the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants. According to inherited Islamic traditions, mosques are not only places for worship where people assemble to pray five times a day, but also function as cultural and educational clubs where discussions are carried out on matters which concern the town or city communities, conducted by special Muslim leaders. Sermons and lectures are delivered not only in connection with religion, but also on subjects pertaining to life in general. Social activities carried out under the patronage of mosques often have to do with associations for charity and social co-operation, or with education.

Mosques in some Arab countries have played a leading role in national political movements such as Al Zaitonah Mosque in Tunis and Al Azhar Mosque in Cairo, which afterwards were the foundations of major universities. Social and communication planners consequently attach great importance to the participation of mosques in promoting the social awareness and innovation required for the development process. Sometimes a particular social change is impossible if the mosque leaders take an opposing attitude.

Religious associations established with the aim of rendering assistance to people in need may be included under this heading. They are found in most Arab countries under different names. Although they are registered as charitable associations, they play or can play a great role in education, promoting awareness and providing vocational training, in confronting problems connected with urbanization, as well as in providing a chance for women to take part in public services. This last is important since in Arab countries women are still far from participating in public activities.

Mass culture centres

The seventies witnessed the diffusion of mass culture centres in some Arab countries including Egypt where they began. These centres aim at providing local cultural services in cities and towns or districts of big cities. Sometimes their services are extended to neighbouring villages through mass culture caravans. A mass culture centre is originally a public club where lectures are delivered, or symposia, movie shows, discussions and visual arts exhibitions are held. Part of their concern is focused on promoting the artistic talents of youth, often by helping them to form dramatic or musical groups and providing them with their experts and training. Each centre includes a public library. Mass culture centres are widespread in Egypt, Iraq, Qatar, United Arab Emirates, Morocco and Tunisia where their tasks and functions are sponsored by various official political or cultural bodies and under different names. Although the chief aim of these centres is cultural, they are inevitably led to tackle local prob-

lems in their discussions and artistic shows and this makes them a suitable platform for the presentation of urbanization issues and other problems connected with social development.

Traditional communications

The paper submitted by the Kuwaiti delegate to the conference of the Arab Cities Organization (ACO) on recreation services in Arab countries referred to some face-to-face and traditional communication methods.

'One of the traditional recreation places which still preserves its position in Kuwait's community is what is called "Al Diwaniyah" where men assemble to deliberate on their problems and spend their spare time. A new element in spending time in this place is the introduction of TV and video cassettes where men may watch certain programmes collectively.'

Some people in Kuwait including wives feel that Al Diwaniyah has become a source of trouble to many families, as it tempts men to spend time which they should spend with their families.

Another paper submitted to the same ACO conference by a group of researchers in Doha, Qatar, mentioned 'the council' phenomenon which is similar to Al Diwaniyah, being a meeting place or private club for men:

'We can say that "the council" plays a prominent role in activating recreation in Qatar in a way that is not confined to performing social obligations but is extended to relating entertaining and heroic stories and poetic contests which primarily aim at amusement or treating community problems'.

'The Council' is in fact a club for men where youth are given social education and introduced to the traditional cultural life in the country.

The phenomenon of 'El Diwaniyah' and 'The Council' is not only confined to Kuwait and Qatar but is widely spread in other Arab countries under different names.

Local political centres

Another particular method of face-to-face communication in some Arab countries especially in urban communities is the system of local political centres where the one party concept is accepted, or there is a leading party within the national front as is the case in Sudan, Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, Syria, Iraq, South Yemen and Somalia. Those local and regional centres take several forms. They might be political centres or branches of youth or women's organizations connected with the party or other different forms. Although the fundamental task of these centres is political, their link with the district or city or town communities in which they operate, makes it necessary for them to be concerned with social and cultural problems, and the developmental role of these centres should not be overlooked.

4. Urbanization--signs of awakening concern

Although, as is evident from the previous section, communication and media activities within the Arab region are not conducive to dealing with urbanization problems, a certain group of initiatives is cause for optimism.

The Arab League started these initiatives in 1971 and was followed by its specialized organizations such as the Arab League Educational, Cultural and Scientific Organization (ALECSO) and the Arab States Broadcasting Union (ASBU). Subsequently this concern shifted to Arab National Organizations such as Egyptian Radio and TV.

It is likely that the present Unesco study, on urban community media in different parts of the world including the Arab region, may be a start towards a concentration on this problem which hitherto had been included only in passing in Unesco programmes concerned with communication development.

The following are the main events which have taken place in the Arab region at the regional or national level and which suggest the beginnings of an awareness of the role of communication in confronting the problems of urbanization in the Arab region.

The 14th conference organized by the Arab League Department for Social Affairs was held in 1971 in Tripoli, Libya, on the theme of 'Urban Development in the Arab World'.

The conference adopted a group of recommendations concerning housing, population planning and industrial and labour affairs. One concerning educational and cultural planning recommended:

'Utilizing schools existing in different districts in the Arab cities to contribute to cultural activities and social entertainment for the city inhabitants;

developing mass media to undertake a potentially educational role directed towards changing social behaviour and customs of life appropriate for urban living;

developing curricula in schools, institutes and universities to promote students' sense of social responsibility and make it easier for them to participate positively in developing the environment in poor urban districts and village development projects.

Educational programmes should aim at forming a pattern of contemplation and behaviour which encourages adaptability in students and a readiness to innovate solutions to the problems of urbanization'.

In implementation of a resolution adopted by the Unesco General Conference at its 18th session, an experts meeting for the promotion of periodicals in Arab countries was held in Tunis in 1976.

The meeting was not concerned with the local press but focused primarily on general and specialized periodicals, as well as the press in rural areas. Local press providing a city service was not mentioned except in passing in recommendation No. 9:

'The experts recommend Arab governments to be more concerned with local press and encourage the publication of local and regional periodicals in which villagers contribute directly in editing and publication. This is necessary to overcome the cultural isolation imposed upon village populations and to stimulate them to practise communication. At the same time it is necessary that mass media in cities make use of the communication experiments of villagers and reproduce some of their output'.

In February 1980, the Board of Trustees of Egyptian Radio and TV adopted in principle a resolution to commence the establishment of regional and local radio. To carry out the necessary studies and consultations Egyptian radio and TV, in co-operation with the State Office of Information in Egypt (which supervises the direct communication centres network found in different Egyptian Governorates) and with the ASBU General Secretariat in Egypt, jointly organized a symposium on 'Local Radios and Integral Development' which took place in Cairo in June 1980.

The aim of this symposium was to study the importance of establishing local radio services for supporting and implementing integral development plans on the national, regional and local levels.

The symposium adopted a group of recommendations the first of which was (in part) as follows:

* 'In order that local radio may attains its targets, planning should be aimed at establishing a communication structure whose constitution depends upon the environmental and community characteristics in which local radio is operated, rather than depend only on geographical considerations.

* The communication service carried out by local radio should depend upon a conformity between desires and requirements of the local community, within a national framework.

* It is recognized that local radio can serve a consistent limited community whose environmental characteristics differ from regional radios serving geographical regions comprising various local communities.'

Recommendation No. 6 concerned 'Integrity between local media and direct communication':

* 'Since economic development can never be effected apart from social and cultural development, and in view of the results of research confirming that mass media play different roles of varying importance and influence on personal consciousness, attitudes and conduct, it is necessary to use all mass media, in addition to face-to-face communication, in support of national integral development.

The Symposium therefore recommends:

* Carrying out necessary procedures for co-ordination as much as possible between press, radio and TV and face-to-face communication i.e. mosques, churches, clubs, information and mass cultural centres so as to make use of their privileges in serving the local community, and specifying common targets which each of them tries to attain in its own way'.

Although the symposium was intended to investigate local radio, the importance of TV was not disregarded.

Recommendation No. 5 'Preliminaries for the establishment of local television in future', was as follows:

'Communication planners should take into consideration when drawing up future broadcasting engineering schemes, the importance of establishing local TV in rural communities and new cities.

* Studying possibilities for introducing locally manufactured TV sets to guarantee massive popular distribution as a preliminary towards the possibility of establishing local TV in future'.

Exploratory research on the necessity of local radio

In 1978 Egyptian radio and TV carried out research on the 'views of a sample population of canal cities--Suez, Ismailia and Port Said--on the necessity of establishing local radio in the region'. The survey covered a sample of about 600 people from Port Said, Suez and Ismailia. Overall, some 90 per cent upheld the necessity of establishing local radio, the percentages in Suez and Port Said being higher than in Ismailia because of the nature of Port Said as a free zone city, and the face that Suez also was becoming a free zone city. The population of both cities, therefore, considered the establishment of the new radio service a necessity for their commercial business and for solving their new problems.

The survey investigated programme preferences, and the greater majority who were in favour of establishing local radio (72 per cent) wanted programmes that would deal with local problems, and would submit them to official authorities for solution. A little under two-thirds proposed focusing on current affairs of the region, while a third suggested entertainment programmes including music, songs and variety. A third of the sample asked that radio should present new local talent in the field of music, singing and other arts. One in five asked for programmes to be co-ordinated with the targets of local development plans.

On the occasion of the expert meeting in Cairo in 1980 for the previously mentioned symposium on 'Local radio and integral development', a field survey was carried out entitled 'Survey study pattern of local radio to meet the requirements and desires of a local community'.

The object of this survey was to get acquainted with the community which might be served by a local radio established to serve a developing society.

A section of Munofiya Governorate, with its capital Shebine El Koum, was chosen to carry out this survey. The area is at the centre of the Nile Delta. The city's population exceeds 10,000 and the survey was applied to random sample of 400 people.

Asked for their view about establishing local radio to serve the city and its surroundings and whether such a radio would be useful, 93 per cent replied that establishing local radio would be beneficial to the community. Only 3 per cent replied in the negative, while 4 per cent said they could not say whether such a radio would be useful or not. There was no correlation between opinion and educational standard or between sexes. All respondents appreciated the benefit of local radio with very little variation.

Suggestions as to the potential programming were:

Seventy per cent that it should be concerned with their problems and interests, 14 per cent that it should use a more comprehensive language, 4 per cent mentioned local radio's advantages in promoting local talent. Other replies included promoting the awareness of people in the fields of culture, health, science, information and local news, taking up developmental issues such as family planning or abolishing illiteracy and reflecting a true image of the local community and its desires.

A survey study on the phenomenon of urbanization in the Arab world 1978

ALECSO's Arab Institute for Research and Studies realized that the urbanization phenomenon in the Arab world in all its aspects has become an urgent problem needing investigation.

The Institute therefore decided to schedule a programme to study this phenomenon among its research programmes and it was approved by the ALECSO General Conference at its 4th session (held December/January 1975/1976).

Accordingly, a planning Committee was approved by ALECSO early in 1976. The Committee (on which there were no communication experts) designed a standard scheme to be a guide when studying urbanization at the national level.

Groups of researchers were selected from each Arab country and undertook their research over a two-year period. The Institute collected 15 studies and published them in two parts covering Asian Arab countries (1978) and African Arab countries (1980). This detailed survey is considered the first scientific study of such dimension made in Arab countries, and the only reference work which must be the main source for further research dealing with urbanization in the Arab world.

The Arab Institute will continue its interest in urban phenomena in the Arab world and has started a complementary programme on Arab capitals.

Arab Cities Organization (ACO)

1967 is considered a turning point in the history of the Arab cities because that year witnessed the birth of the Arab Cities' Organization following the founding meeting in which delegates from 27 Arab cities participated. By 1975 the number of ACO members had risen to 100.

The Organization aims at raising the standard of municipal services in Arab cities with special reference to population growth and assisting Arab cities which may be damaged by foreign aggression. In order to realize these aims, symposia and conferences are convened by the organization, exchange visits and missions are organized to give officials the chance to acquire new experiences, and projects and programmes carried out in Arab cities are reviewed and exchanged in co-operation with the Arab League.

The Organization is independent and does not belong to any governmental system, being directly linked with cities and municipalities. It has its own legal personality and budget, with a general secretariat located in Kuwait.

ACO has held a series of scientific conferences on the problems of planning, co-ordination, pollution, health services, administrative organization, immigration and its effect on Arab cities, the role of educational and communication institutions in confronting urbanization problems (dealt with below) and role of municipalities with respect to recreation services.

Among the achievements of the Organization was the establishment of an Arab Cities Development Fund in 1976. The Fund aims at assisting member cities to implement projects, and raising the standard of services and their infrastructures through the granting of loans. The Fund's Budget amounts to 5 million Kuwaiti Dinars (about 20 million US dollars). Among the plans of the Organization is the establishment of an Arab Institute for City Development. Preparations have started for its establishment in Saudi Arabia which will finance the Institute. It is hoped that the Institute will conduct research, train technicians in data processing, co-operate with Arab universities and research centres to carry out joint projects, and explore problems facing Arab cities and make the necessary arrangements for their solution.

The role of educational and communication institutions in serving Arab cities--1978.

The Arab Cities Organization (ACO) in co-operation with ALECSO convened a symposium on 'The role of citizens and municipalities in serving Arab cities', in Monastir, Tunisia, October/November 1978.

The symposium was attended by 160 participants representing the majority of member cities of ACO in addition to representatives from 17 competent regional and international organizations.

Among the discussions and studies the foremost was one on 'The role of communication in developing the Arab city', submitted by the present writer. The symposium adopted a number of recommendations among which were the following:

* That Arab municipalities, in co-operation with Ministries of Communication and Broadcasting in each country, should attempt to establish local radio services in central cities and remote areas to contribute to the raising of cultural standards and encouraging citizen's awareness of local urban development issues. In addition, central radio services should devote some air time to the problems of provinces and urban communities.

* That communication planners should take into consideration the importance of mosques in Muslim Arab cities in promoting citizens' awareness of their role and responsibilities for developing their city through the everlasting values of the Islamic religion.

* That co-operation and co-ordination between broadcasting services and municipalities should be encouraged with a view to defining priorities concerning programmes devoted to communities in different Arab cities. This is to be achieved by establishing joint advisory committees that include experts in the field of social services and specialized communications planners for urban awareness programmes.

* That special financial allocations should be included in municipalities' budgets for supporting broadcasting services contributing to citizens' awareness of their role in serving their city, and participating with their municipalities in confronting urban development problems.

* That the local press should be supported and stimulated to carry out its role in the city development.

There were other recommendations tabled under the title 'Educational Institutions in the Service of the Arab City', two of which are worth mentioning here for their relevance to the topic of this study:

* ACO in co-operation with ALECSO should contact Ministries of Education in Arab countries with a view to carrying out necessary studies to see how educational curricula might include the task of encouraging young people to be aware of their responsibilities in serving their cities and promoting their sense of participation.

* Municipalities in co-operation with local education authorities should attempt to establish associations that include students, teachers and parents to work in co-operation with municipal officials for city development.

* * *

Chapter 4

AUSTRALIA

by

Jillian and Stewart Fist

AUSTRALIA

		Page
1.	Mass media	59
2.	Public radio	61
3.	Ethnic broadcasting	70
4.	The Australian Video Access Project	73
5.	Film and Cinema	78

1. Mass Media

Free speech and freedom of the press are established values in Australia--if one takes this to mean that there is a lack of organized or direct government interference with what is being shown, said or written by the media. The mass media companies do however, co-operate with the government over 'D' notices which aim to prevent the publication of military secrets. For many years, the knowledge that 'D' notices exist was in itself secret. Now it is widely known.

In general, governments continue to use their control over broadcasting licences; their appointments to statutory broadcasting authorities; and the threat of budget cuts to the government funded nationai broadcasting services as a means of controlling the media. The long-term effect of these measures means that a climate of 'carefulness' is built up that has a self-censorship effect.

Big-business and the 'establishment' exert similar controls through the use of 'old-boy' networks. On many occasions important news stories or current affairs programmes have been stopped or modified in this way. On occasions multi-nationals and the larger Australian companies have used the threat of the withdrawal of advertising to bring sections of the media into line.

Public servants also exert pressure on the media. They have control over the issuing of broadcasting licences; access to information necessary for reporters and researchers; the placement of government advertising; and the control of grants, which the alternative forms of media need to survive.

Newspapers and Periodicals

Australia has an active and viable newspaper industry divided into city, suburban and country press. There are about 600 newspapers catering for a population of just over 13 million.

Because of Australia's vast distances and high urban concentration of population, the daily newspapers tend to remain local in their distribution. There are, however, three national papers, The Australian (daily), The Australian Financial Review and The National Times (both weeklies).

Across Australia the eighteen city dailies now published are all under the control of one of the three major media companies:

- The Herald and Weekly Times group

  This group controls roughly half of Australia's dailies; a quarter of the Sundays and weeklies; 19 per cent of the suburbans; plus radio and television interests.

- News Ltd. -- the Murdock group with a quarter of the dailies; 40 per cent of the Sunday/weeklies; and 20 per cent of suburbans plus radio and television interests.

- John Fairfax Ltd. --30 per cent of dailies; 17 per cent of Sunday/weeklies; 8 per cent of suburbans plus large radio on TV interests.

A fourth group:

- Consolidated Press--the Packer group has now sold its main newspapers (retaining some suburban interests) to concentrate on magazines,radio and television.

Between them, these four media oligopolies control all of the metropolitan dailies, 90 per cent of the weeklies, 50 per cent of the suburbans, and 80 per cent of the top 25 magazines. What is more, they have a controlling interest in newsprint and wire-services, as well as forcing a dependency on newsagents and distributors. They also control the key commercial radio stations in metropolitan areas; record companies; film and video production houses; and most of the key commercial television stations. Control of the Australian mass media is in very few hands.

Australia has over 200 suburban newspapers. A few are published by resident or community groups; some are lone commercial publishers; about 30 per cent are controlled by local media

chains with interests in a number of suburbans; and 50 per cent are part of the major four media companies.

Australians are magazine readers. There are 60 odd major national consumer magazines and about 300 national business magazines, plus hundreds of trade-association and academic journals. The magazine publishing industry is dominated again by the 'big-four' with twenty of the top twenty five publications. At the other end of the scale are hundreds of small magazines, newsletters and journals with print-runs down to a thousand or less.

Radio and television

The Minister for Post and Telecommunications controls all broadcasting licences through the Australian B roadcasting Tribunal for commercial and public radio and television, and through the Australian Broadcasting Commission (ABC) for the national radio and TV services.

The government recently instituted a system of licence renewal hearings but since both of the major political parties need to keep favour with the media oligopolies, the renewal of commercial radio and television licences is still virtually automatic with only token 'public' input.

The ABC runs a government financed network of radio stations covering most of Australia. It controls 89 AM transmitters, 5 FM transmitters and 9 short-wave stations.

The commercial radio sector consists of 126 AM stations with a number of FM commercial stations due to start broadcasting in August 1980. The media 'big-four' figure strongly in metropolitan commercial radio, and in the larger regional centres.

There are 53 non-commercial and 50 commercial television stations in Australia. Judging from these figures it would appear that the ABC dominates the television scene, but this is not so. The ABC has an obligation to provide a TV service in even the most remote areas of Australia, and this is the reason for their high number of transmitters.

The major cities usually have one national (ABC) station and two or three commercial stations. The overall audience distribution is in the order of 80 per cent for commercial television, and 20 per cent for the national service.

Australia is now moving into an era of satellite distribution of television, and the results of this exercise will probably alter the picture dramatically in the new few years.

Film and Cinema

Australia is now a significant producer of cinema feature films. In a flurry of film-making between 1971 and 1977, 92 feature films were made. In 1977 alone 24 films were made. In the last few years the number has declined. The problem is an age-old one in Australia. Since the 1920s, film distribution and exhibition has increasingly come under the control of British and American interests. Over 90 per cent of the first-run (i.e. city) theatres are controlled by two groups, one of which also owns a major film-processing group.

The Australian Film Commission keeps the industry going by providing loans and grants without experiencing much return on its investments.

The Australian Film and Television School is a national 'university' for film, television and now radio production. It provides three year full-time courses in the production, direction and craft aspects of film TV and soon radio; and it has an external training arm (Open Programme) which runs courses in all States. Training is provided for the professional industry, people in tertiary education and in the community and public access areas.

Book publishing

Australia imports most of its books from the United Kingdom and the United States of America, although there is a growing book-publishing industry in the country.

Educational titles predominate among Australian-published books. A large part of the commercial publishing is dominated by Australian subsidiaries of overseas publishing houses.

Libraries

There is an extensive free-library system in all parts of the country. Virtually every suburb and major country town has its own library funded by the Local Council. Each State has a lending reference library in its capital city, and the National Library in Canberra has become a focal point for the rapidly developing network of information systems.

2. Public radio

Until the 1970s radio was divided between the commercial broadcasters and the Australian Broadcasting Commission, although some experimental work had been done by a few universities that had gained permission to broadcast on very low power to their campuses.

In 1972 a new Labour Government found that it had inherited 2000 applications for new radio licences--a significant number of which were from groups trying to establish public/ethnic/educational stations.

What happened next was that a combination of successful pressure group activity, exploiting technical and legal loopholes, and of political opportunism on the part of a hard-pressed government with a limited life-expectancy, led to the establishment of public radio. The pressure group was eventually constituted as the Public Broadcasting Association of Australia (PBAA), now the user organization of public radio. Its origins were groups who wanted to remedy the lack of classical ('fine') music and saw in FM broadcasting a suitable vehicle with available frequency space. An obsolescent Wireless and Telegraphy Act was used to licence two stations--2-MBS-FM and 3-MBS-FM-- at the turn of 1974-1975 in Sydney and Melbourne respectively.

These two music broadcasting societies are important in the history of the development of public radio, because they were highly articulate groups with considerable political expertise. From a pragmatic point of view the pressure for a 'fine music' station as a spear-head for public broadcasting was ideal. Politicians from both sides of the political fence tend to fear public access and expansion of media outlets because it inevitably opens up government to scrutiny, inquiry and criticism.

With the Music Societies there was no such threat. From the point of view of the politicians, the act of licencing these two FM Stations was probably tokenism; from the point of view of the media activists, it was a foot in the door.

The licencing of the two music stations had a number of other important effects.

a) They proved that non-professional groups could operate a high-quality station without the need for a big staff or big budgets.

b) They showed the government that they could keep financially viable without the need for massive grants. The government's fears of hordes of public stations descending on them for multiple millions of dollars proved groundless.

c) They proved to other minority groups (especially in the ethnic communities) that licence applications were not just a hopeless ritual--and thereby generated immense pressure on the minister and the government for additional frequency allocations.

d) They provided a model for community involvement in a radio station.

The Liberal Government which succeeded the Whitlam (Labour) administration eventually came to approve and systematize the public broadcasting as a sector in its own right, separate from the national (ABC) and commercial sectors.

On 5 April 1978, in a ministerial statement, the then Minister of Posts and Telecommunications outlined the Liberal Government's philosophy on the development of public broadcasting:

The Minister stated that the system as a whole should:

'cater for and reflect the widest possible spectrum of information, opinions, values and interests in Australian society'.

The Australian Broadcasting Tribunal's Planning guidelines set out the following 'special purpose' categories for the granting of public licences for radio:

Category E Licences: For educational bodies intending to provide programmes of continuing and adult education, but including material designed to enrich the cultural life of the audience.

Category S Licences: For groups intending to provide programmes serving a particular interest or group of interests, e.g. music/sport/religion.

Category C Licences: For community groups intending to provide programmes serving a defined community area.

The criteria used by the Tribunal for granting public broadcasting licences includes such questions as:

- whether the applicant will extend the range of meaningful service available to the public
- evidence of community support for the applicants
- whether there will be any means of enabling the community of interests which the station serves to participate in the management and programming of the station
- whether programming would be transmitted for a reasonable period each day
- the extent to which the applicant will grant access to the outside groups ...'

The tribunal requires a potential public broadcaster to present a case showing that gaps exist in the variety of programme types being offered by the national and commercial broadcaster.

The tribunal commented favourably on the fact that public broadcasting applicants tended to avoid the idea of programming with a continuous 'format' or 'sound'. Instead they favoured discrete sections built around individual programme concepts. This was a natural consequence of public broadcasting's aim:

'to reach some of the people for some of the time ... in the expectation that their listeners will consciously tune to their stations for the particular programmes that interest them'.

Public broadcasting applicants are required to provide a 'Promise of Performance' against which their renewal applications will be judged.

The tribunal has accepted the Public Broadcasting Association's Code of Ethics which states that:

- Public broadcasters are primarily accountable to the communities defined in their Promise of Performance
- People working in or for a station, and members of the community served, should be involved in decision and policy making
- Public broadcasters should aim at satisfying the needs of their communities
- Stations should seek the highest standard in programming, consistent with the widest possible community participation.'

In examining the structure of the various organizations applying for public licences, the tribunal claims to rate highly community participation in management as well as in programming. At the same time they accepted that the nature of community participation in management will vary according to management structures, e.g. as between an incorporated educational body which is a licencee, or a co-operative of shareholders which owns the station.

Funding methods that met the tribunal's approval included listener-subscriptions, donations, sponsorship by businesses, sale of air time to participating community groups, and grants. Sponsor messages are now allowed by the tribunal, with the limitations that:

' . there shall be no more than four sponsor messages in any one clock hour;

. sponsor messages shall include only the name, address and nature of business of the sponsor;

. these messages should not attempt to persuade or induce the listener to purchase particular goods or services.'

The problem of profitability obviously figures strongly in the tribunal decisions. The tribunal has given heed to the argument advanced by the PPSA that:

'... the deliberate maximization of a financial surplus, for any purpose other than broadcasting, alters the basic motivation of the broadcaster ...

It is fundamental to public broadcasters' sense of their own identity that broadcasting is not to be subordinated to the building up of income much beyond break-even.'

Thus the tribunal requires applicants for public broadcasting licences to undertake that any surplus be used for purposes which are connected with that particular broadcasting operation.

Public radio may be conveniently classified by station origins, structures and policies.*

Origins

Group 1: 5UV, University of Adelaide. (First on the air in 1972). Conceived as an educational station, but became a public broadcasting station. It is now licenced as a Category E station.

Group 2: 2 MBS-FM and 3 MBS-FM Music Broadcasting Societies. These stations were given 'experimental' licences in September 1974. Sydney came on the air almost immediately, Melbourne in July 1975. Both now licenced under Category C.

Group 3: 2 CT and 3CR Campbelltown (Sydney) Community Radio and Community Radio Federation, Melbourne.

These stations were given 'low-coverage restricted commercial' licences in 1975. 3CR came on-air in May 1976, 2 CT two years later. These stations are the freaks of the system. They are supposed to be access stations, but they are allowed to have sponsorship and limited advertising. Both these licences were issued after advertisements had been placed by the government calling for application. They have 5 year licences.

Group 4: 2XX Canberra--Australian National University
3RM-FM --Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology
4ZZZ-FM --University of Queensland Union

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* Andrew Bear, Lecturer in Communication Studies at Flinders University, Adelaide SA, devised this system of categories which we have slightly modified. G. & S. Fist

6NR	-	Western Australia Inst. of Technology
6UWA-FM	-	University of Western Australia
7CAE-FM	-	Tasmanian College of Advanced Education
2NCR-FM	-	Northern Rivers College of Advanced Education
2MCE-FM	-	Mitchell College of Advanced Education
2ARM-FM	-	University of New England
3GCR-FM	-	Gippsland Inst. of Advanced Education
2NUR-FM	-	University of Newcastle
4DDB-FM	-	Darling Downs Inst. of Advanced Education

These twelve experimental licences were given to educational institutions in August 1978. The last came on the air in 1978.

These stations were all re-licenced in 1978 as Category C (Community) stations with the exception of the Melbourne and Hobart stations, which remained Category E. Many also changed their nominal licencee, to reflect the greater community involvement. For instance: 3RMT-FM became 3RRR-FM controlled by a consortium of educational institutions. 2XX came under the control of the Campus Community Broadcasting Association, rather than the Australian National University.

Group 5:	2SER-FM	- NSW Institute of Tech. & Macquarrie University	(E)
	2CBA-FM	- Christian Broadcasting Association	(S)
	3PBS-FM	- Progressive Broadcasting Service	(S)
	4MBS-FM	- Music Broadcasting Society of Queensland	(S)
	4EBA-FM	- Ethnic Broadcasting Association, Brisbane	(S)
	5MMM-FM	- Progressive Music Broadcasters, Adelaide	(S)
	5EBI-FM	- Ethnic Broadcasters Inc. Adelaide	(S)
	6NEW-FM	- Newman Community Radio, West Australia	(C)
	7HFC-FM	- Hope Foundation Ltd., Hobart	(S)
	2 WEB	- Western Education Broadcasting, Bourke	(E)

These are the latest stations to be licenced. They gained their licences after public hearings before the Australian Broadcasting Tribunal in 1978.

2WEB is an anomaly. It broadcasts from a High School in a remote country town. Its licence was awarded without a hearing.

Other stations: Under control of government statutory authorities.

ABC Stations:
- 2JJ - Youth/rock/access in Sydney
- 3ZZ - Ethnic access station in Melbourne ... licence revoked in 1977
- ABC-FM
  - Networking to transmitters in Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide, Canberra, and Newcastle

SBS Stations: Under control of the Special Broadcasting Service

- 2EA - Sydney ethnic station
- 3EA - Melbourne ethnic station

Station structures

1. Community owned and operated model

These stations usually emerged from clubs or societies (not necessarily with broadcasting ambitions) which have specific interests, and are based on individual membership. Membership of the society in turn confers participatory rights in the station. Music and Christian Broadcasting stations are examples of this type. In future, many local community stations will probably follow this model.

2. The co-operative model

These are similar to community stations but emphasize more the 'access' approach. The central body (the Co-operative) confers the right not only to participate, but also to broadcast. For instance 3CR boasts an affiliation of about 150 groups, ranging from conservationists to trade union. Usually an elected group runs the station and decides policy; the groups make the programmes.

3. The educational institution model

This is the largest and most varied type. Stations may be closely associated with a department of an education institution (drawing on it for both staff and finance) or they may be only loosely connected. A third type may have close ties with student organizations and draw funds from a variety of sources. There is now a move to form consortia of tertiary institutions to run stations. Most educational stations provide access time to other community groups.

4. Local government model

No stations run by local councils have yet emerged, but a few councils have expressed interest.

5. Corporate owned or sustained model

6NEW at Newman in the northwest of Western Australia is funded by the Mount Newman Mining Company. This is a large one-company mining town.

6. Government sustained model

The Special Broadcasting Service funds ethnic broadcasters to a high degree. Although these stations may be operated by independent groups, the government through its funding has the power to make or break these stations. A similar situation is found in 2WEB Bourke, which is funded by the Schools Commission.

7. Statutory authority operated model

2 EA and 3 EA are both funded and operated by the Special Broadcasting Service; 2JJ and ABC-FM stations are run by the ABC. 3ZZ was funded and licenced through the ABC and was closed by government order in 1977.

Station Policies

1. Religious 7HVC and 2CBA

These are both new stations, licenced in 1978. Three other Christian groups applied unsuccessfully at the same time.

2. Fine Music 2MBS, 3MBS and 4 MBS

The content is almost entirely music with a planned, informed style of presentation.

3. Progressive Music 3PBS and 5MMM

Content: music plus ethnic and general access.

4. Ethnic

4a. Ethnic public broadcasting 4EBA and 5EBI
4b. Ethnic government broadcasting 2EA and 3EA
4c. Ethnic access 3ZZ (now closed)

5. Community--public affairs 3 CR

This station is probably the most controversial in Australia at the present moment. It suffers from constant controversies over political bias. It operates under a restricted commercial licence.

6. Community--local affairs

Most of the regional stations are of this type, even when there is a connection with an educational institution. A great many of the organized public broadcasting groups currently awaiting licences, are of this type.

Urban, low-coverage Category C licences when they come into existence (i.e. like 2 CT Campbelltown) will go to the larger population centres.

7. Educational

7a. Educational--categories C and S

One clear trend has been for these broadcasting groups to break away from the educational institutions to which the licence was originally given. They have tended to move towards a general-interest programming policy with a good deal of local involvement.

2ARM and 3GCR have become general community stations for their areas.

4ZZZ and 2XX have student connections, and emphasize intelligent, informed, 'alternative' discussion, news and music.

2MCE and 2NCR have retained close links with colleges, but are still regarded as local community rather than educational stations.

6NR is community-oriented and provides considerable access facilities, which is important for ethnic groups.

6UVS has a rather 'high culture' emphasis with fine music and serious discussion.

7b. Educational--category E

Despite the Educational category none of these stations feels restricted only to educational material.

3RRR and 5UV provide a wide range of music and general interest material.
5UV provides ethnic access.
2SER is very community and access oriented.

Three case-studies

5MMM-FM

This Adelaide 'progressive music station' came on the air only in late 1979 and it is already showing signs of an evolutionary change towards public access.

The Progressive Music Broadcasting Association was launched at a public meeting on 2 July 1978 and the 200 foundation members present endorsed the draft licence application and a draft constitution. At this meeting a ten-person Management Commitee was elected... only four of the original committee remained at the end of the first year--a good illustration of the frustrations and work required to nurse an infant radio station to maturity.

The day to day operations of the group duing their licence application and run-up period was financed from funds generated by the organization itself. $20,000 went in rent, telephone, publicity and promotion to reach the point where the licence had been granted.

The construction and equipping of the station has been principally underwritten by the South Australian State Government in the form of a $62,250 Arts Development Grant and a $14,620 State Employment Relief Scheme Grant (which is intended to help relieve the unemployment problems).

A further $10,000 was given by the Australian Film Commission (which has the responsibility to develop community radio) and the Community Arts Board of the Australian Council contributed $3,000 to fund community liaison work.

For their continuing operations the group are seeking to build up the membership of the Association. Even before 5MMM existed as a radio station it had succeeded in attracting over 1,000 financial members at $20 each ($10 for students, pensioners and the unemployed). The business community and the trade unions have also pledged themselves to sponsorship--one company to the tune of $5,000 per annum.

The organization fell to three working groups. Publicity/promotion, technical and programming. Each of these working groups met at least weekly during the year and a half run-up to transmission.

Publicity/promotion used posters, a newspaper 'Airwave', pop-concerts, dances etc. to raise money and expand their membership and contacts with the community.

The technical group have designed and built a studio complex with two on-air studios, a production studio, record library, technical workshop, graphics and layout room. There is also an administration section, meeting and volunteer worker's area, kitchen, storage space, etc.

The programming philosophy is most interesting. The schedule includes a one-hour five-day-a-week programme produced by young people between the ages of 12 and 20 and a weekly one-hour programme for Gay Radio. Other slots exist for special documentaries, public affairs programmes, community news and women's programmes--surrounded by mainstream jazz, country and western, bluegrass, folk, blues and contemporary Australian music.

There are six full-time paid staff (at around $100 per week each--which is less than half of the average Australian wage level) who act as station programme co-ordinators. The programme makers are volunteers.

5MMM also sees itself as having a training function. Early this year it ran a series of workshops in conjunction with the Association of Community Theatres, in stereo drama production. The series of four workshops were intended to stimulate ideas and projects in radio drama and audio works, as well as to be a learning experience in techniques and approaches. They were attended by writers, actors, producers and technicians.

3RRR-FM

In May 1976 the Minister of the Media in the Labour Government issued an experimental licence to the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology to broadcast on frequency modulation 'messages containing matters of an educational character',

In November 1976 3 RMT-FM went on the air for the first time, broadcasting about 40 hours per week. By 1978, when changes in the Broadcasting Act formalized the public broadcasting system, 3RMT was transmitting 148 hours per week with a full-time staff of eight.

The Institute found that with the Tertiary Education budget cutbacks, it was unable to commit itself to full financing of the operation indefinitely, and so it initiated the formation of a consortium of tertiary institutions to apply for a new licence.

3RRR-FM was born in August 1978 with an 'E' class licence. Members of the consortium (who also constitute the Board) are:

The Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology
Caufield Institute of Technology

Preston Institute of Technology
Melbourne University Union Council
Swinburne College of Technology
Melbourne State Colleges

A year later two other tertiary institutions joined:

La Trobe University
Deakin University

Essentially the community served by 3RRR is seen as that extending from the tertiary institutions--starting with students and staff, and extending out into the community through people of 'like interests'. They aim at people in the age group from 18 to 30 years, who are most likely to have completed a secondary education.

3RRR is now run by a full-time staff of nine with help from about 60 volunteers. They do not claim to be an access station. They have seven hours per week in foreign languages.

Recently they have up-graded their transmitter power to cover a wide area of metropolitan Melbourne and surrounding districts. They now have the reputation of being the best 'hard rock' radio station in Melbourne.

3RRR has had its licence traumas; no sooner was a four year licence issued than an 'untimely broadcast of two Richard Pryor tracks' (claimed to be obscene) resulted in a tribunal hearing that cut the licence back to one year.

Three days later the Archbishop of Melbourne complained at the broadcasting of an interview with Robyn Archer and Johnny Rotten. However the educational achievements of the station were sufficient for the Tribunal to renew the licence later for three years.

Generally 3RRR-FM sees its role as a broadcaster to the consortium community. In a booklet explaining their programming philosophy the station manager explains:

> 'One of the most important functions of 3RRR is to convey to the community a sense of the sort of things that are thought about and talked about inside tertiary institutions, making accessible to a larger number of people the information and expertise that exist inside the so-called academic ivory tower ... In part, our role is to interpret, or translate, the activities of our institutes for the wider community.'
>
> 'We must be prepared to innovate and experiment, and to surprise and challenge the audience into a state of maximum receptiveness to advertisers' messages. 3RRR should be aiming for a state of alertness, enquiry and openness: we want to provide foreground not background listening.'

Funding for the station comes mainly from the member institutes of the consortium although there is growing listener support through yearly $25 subscriptions. A radiothon in November of last year achieved $9,500 in donations from 500 listeners.

3RRR have attempted to survey their listeners, but the reliability of their procedures must be suspect. They claim that 4 per cent come from the upper-class; 20 per cent from the upper middle class; 12 per cent from the lower middle class; and 24 per cent from the working class.

3ZZ

In September 1974 the Labour Government gave the Australian Broadcasting Commission two new experimental licences in the AM band. These became 2JJ--a youth/rock music station in Sydney, and 3ZZ an ethnic/access station in Melbourne. This was the government's first attempt to provide genuine community access to radio.

The ABC had been given the task of developing the 2JJ and 3ZZ concepts without consultation. They suddenly acquired these two stations by government direction, without any thought to policies, planning, staffing requirements, or additional finance. The commissioners saw this as

direct interference in their traditional independence--while the more radical of the ABC staff saw it as a marvellous opportunity, one to be exploited to the full.

Suspicion was high that granting these licences to the ABC was a manoeuvre designed to keep public radio--and in particular access and ethnic radio--firmly in the hands of the government through their funding control over the ABC. This suspicion is probably correct.

The ethnic groups in general tended to support 3ZZ. They were interested in getting any form of programming in ethnic languages to air--rather than in voicing unpopular or radical opinions.

A steering committee, drawn from the community groups and individuals interested in public radio, recommended that the station be run by an independent committee with ABC representation. This committee was to have full control over the allocation of programme times and the distribution of funds. Members of the committee were to be given responsibility to develop specific user groups in the areas of consumer affairs, resident action, conservation and ecology, ethnic affairs, welfare and low-income problems and social issues.

The ABC hierarchy was loath to hand over such control to people outside its structure and eventually control of the station came under a staff collective dominated by a 'gang of four'. This group was supposedly assisted by a community-based planning assembly.

In an attempt to compromise with the widely divergent aims of the ABC commissioners and the Melbourne radical groups, access was virtually denied to political, trade union and business groups. By default the station therefore became an ethnic access station, as distinct from the later development of ethnic broadcasting stations.

3ZZ's slogan was 'where the people make the programmes'. The planning committee reported in February 1978 that it was currently broadcasting in 28 languages.

They claimed that:

'Dozens of programming committees and organizations, hundreds of individual and groups, have made and presented their own programmes in their own languages, assisted by the full-time staff.

'Many of the programming committees were elected by very large numbers of people. Hundreds of Greeks, for instance, gathered on three occasions at public meetings to discuss policy and elect their committee. Over 1,000 Maltese did likewise at an open air rally.'

Many of these programmes were highly controversial. Ethnic homeland conflicts have been transported to Australia and still fester in many ethnic groups.

The trials and tribulations of 3ZZ are well documented in Joan Dugdale's book Radio Power. Committees resigned; community access groups boycotted the station; political lobby groups worked full-time to take the station away from ABC control; charges of dictatorial control were levelled against the Staff collective--but out of this mess, through sheer hard work by a lot of people, came Australia's first ethnic radio station.

With the defeat of the Labour Government by the Liberals in 1976 the climate changed. There can be no doubt that the Frazer Liberals saw 3ZZ as a powerful left-wing force in the ethnic communities. By this time another ethnic radio station, 3EA, was operating in Melbourne, and moves were made to consolidate all ethnic broadcasting under a new government statutory authority, the Special Broadcasting Service.

After a number of attempts by the government to put pressure on the station through the ABC hierarchy, the government finally moved to close the station down--justifying the move on the basis that they needed to rationalize ethnic radio and cut costs.

A violent government versus community dispute erupted. The staff refused to close the station down and twenty unions got together to put pressure on the government through the union movement. Telecommunication workers vowed to refuse to disconnect the transmitters. The

State Government of Victoria, the Victorian Council of Churches and host of ethnic groups loudly protested the closure. Meetings and demonstrations added to the protests.

The government succeeded by cutting off the funds for the station and eventually by moving in the Commonwealth police. In June 1977 3ZZ went off the air.

The consequences of this action are widespread and complicated:

- The traditional independence of the ABC from direct government intervention or interference was breached. From that point on, the ABC saw itself as being increasingly under threat from party-political pressures. It moved into a period of self-regulation of controversial issues.
- Public Broadcasting groups learned that the government was willing to wield the big stick.
- Ethnic radio changed from being active and controversial to being passive and bland.
- The Special Broadcasting Service lost its potential competition and became the ethnic broadcasting service.
- The staff of ethnic, access and public broadcasting stations learned how easily they could join the realm of the unemployed.

3. Ethnic Broadcasting

Australia's ethnic communities

In the immediate post-war years Australia experienced a massive influx of immigrants. It now has a higher proportion of immigrants to native-born, than any other country in the world, with the possible exception of Israel.

By 1980, nearly one-quarter of the population was born outside this country. Forty per cent of this influx was British, but until the recent Asian migration, the vast majority came from Europe. Today, 40 per cent of the general public either were born overseas, or are the children of immigrants.

The need to maintain links with their previous cultures can be seen in the 'Directory of Ethnic and National Groups' which lists 2,300 organizations--and this is in a total Australian population of 13 million.

For many years after the war foreign language publications were prohibited. Until recently this prohibition extended to all forms of broadcasting--unless the use of foreign language could be justified for the teaching of English. The rationalization for these restrictions was simply the belief--held by the general public and governments alike--that foreigners must be forced to integrate into Australian society. Over the years this attitude began to change and Australia is now probably as cosmopolitan as any country in the world but it was not until the early 1970s that moves were made to open up the broadcast spectrum to foreign language programmes.

Ethnic radio

The advent of the Whitlam Labour Government in 1972 saw a substantial change in government attitudes towards migrants and minorities in the Australian community. Up to this time neither ABC nor commercial broadcasting had paid much attention to ethnic groups or their languages, the best record being that of a Sydney church-owned commercial station, 2CH. When 2CH ended its foreign language programmes, the incoming Labour Government set up a Task Force to look into the problems. They came to the conclusion that:

'The only way in which the ethnic groups could expect to have a radio voice would be through the establishment of broadcasting stations devoted solely to ethnic broadcasting.'

Entrepreneurial interests in the Greek and Italian communities in Sydney and Melbourne were pressing for commercial ethnic radio licences. Both of these migrant groups were large enough in the two capital cities to support commercial radios through advertising revenue. Opposing these submissions were many activists from the ethnic and media-reform areas who pressed for non-commercial, government-funded stations. Eventually the government decided on a three-month experimental period using hired facilities in both Sydney and Melbourne. The control of the licences was vested in a ten-person committee of people involved in ethnic affairs, with both a Government and an opposition representative.

2EA--Sydney & 3EA--Melbourne

2EA Sydney and 3EA Melbourne began broadcasting in June 1975. The Sydney programmes were in Greek, Maltese, Italian, Spanish, Arabic, Turkish and Yugoslav. Melbourne added a further language, German. Each language had its own day of the week. The programmes lasted for two hours, and went on the air live at 6.30 a.m. The programme slot was recorded and repeated at midday and 7 p.m., giving a total air time of 6 hours per day, or 42 hours per week.

Programme content varied from modern and traditional music, to interviews, health and social welfare messages, letters, childrens' items, etc. The voluntary programme makers explained the Australian federal structure and constitution, read original short stories, and discussed issues such as the value of the family as a unit in the society. All programmes included information from the government on how to become an Australian citizen, how to claim worker's compensation, how to find employment, as well as information on traffic and safety, regulations, etc.

There were many problems--a lack of experienced broadcasters in the ethnic groups, insufficient funding and many disputes over alleged bias between political and religious groups. Despite these problems the experiment was judged a success, and the government agreed to extend the trial period for a further six months while details about overall policies for ethnic radio could be worked out.

During this period an appropriation of $100,000 was made by the government to relieve some of the more drastic financial problems. The committee structure was expanded to allow for a national policy committee, and two state committees each responsible for their respective stations. Air time on each station increased to about 72 hours per week--42 hours of which were original material.

The main language--Italian, Greek, Yugoslav and Turkish--now each broadcast seven days a week, at fixed times in the morning and evening. Maltese, Spanish, Arabic and German were heard on a rotating basis. In late 1975, 2EA in Sydney added programmes in Polish, Russian and both Mandarin and Cantonese. Ethnic music was played between broadcasts, so that by the end of the year the stations were broadcasting approximately 120 hours a week each.

Programme production was still on a voluntary basis, although the budget now paid for the purchase of tapes and records, and provided normal administration back-up and travel and accommodation expenses.

During this experimental period the Whitlam government lost the election, and the broadcasting groups felt that ethnic radio had little chance of survival. The new Liberal Government had not previously shown itself to be interested in ethnic/minority problems, but it had learned the importance of maintaining the ethnic vote, and all evidence pointed to the value of the radio stations to the ethnic community.

But the Liberals were not prepared to commit themselves to a permanent structure, and a third experimental period was initiated. At this time Dutch, Portuguese, French, Latvian, Lithuanian, Estonian, Syriac, Armenian, Hungarian, Jewish community languages, Ukranian, Czech, Slovak, Indian sub-continent languages, and Byelorussian were included--without any increase in programming budgets.

There was criticism of 3EA in Melbourne, stemming from the fact that its existence as an ethnic radio station was used by the government to close down the ethnic-access station 3ZZ (see page 69). 3ZZ had become extremely popular with the large numbers of left-wing groups in Melbourne (mainly migrants from the West European countries)--although it was constantly attacked by the right-wing groups (mainly from the communist countries). 3EA was seen by the 3ZZ supporters as being a 'safe, dull, uninspiring series of programmes of ethnic music and traditional culture'.

At the same time that 3ZZ was closed, the Ethnic Committees who held the licences for 3EA and 2EA suddenly found their control removed by the government without consultation. The licences were vested in the Permanent Head of the Department of Post and Telecommunications--a move that placed the stations even more firmly under government control. The communities protested loudly, but to no avail.

Shortly after this, the government introduced the new Special Broadcasting Service (SBS) which was a statutory authority specifically for ethnic radio and television broadcasting. The stations received substantial increases in funds, and came under the control of the SBS. The new authority was also given control over the allocation of all programme-making grants which meant that ethnic groups making programmes for independent public radio in other states and regional centres now came under the control of the one organization.

The Special Broadcasting Service

Radio stations 2EA and 3EA were transferred to the control of the new SBS in 1977. The budget allocation was enormous by any previous standards. The government had seriously underestimated the reaction of the ethnic community to the closure of 3ZZ and the arbitrary take-over of 2Ea and 3EA without consultation, and so they determined to buy themselves favour. In 1978 they allocated:

$2,533,000 for radio operational expenses
830,000 for capital expenditure on radio
550,000 for preliminary television trials
450,000 for television capital expenses
and 100,000 for the hiring of professional consultants to assist in the television trials.

The SBS upgraded the 2EA and 3EA transmitters to 5,000 watts and linked these with transmitters in Woolongong, Newcastle and Geelong (cities with a high proportion of migrants).

3EA broadcasts programmes in 41 languages and 2EA in 44. Each station has about thirty paid co-ordinators, supported by approximately 200 announcer/broadcasters from the ethnic community.

Programme content is diverse. Entertainment, cultural interest programme, news (both local and overseas), current affairs, government information and sports coverage-- with a notable avoidance of any controversial issues. The service now has a permanent news director and two specialist journalists responsible for providing local-ethnic and overseas news.

On the 25 October 1978, the SBS released a discussion paper containing suggestions for the reorganization of 2EA and 3EA. The paper was a consolidation of ideas and suggestions put forward by the staff, co-ordinators, broadcasters, interested organizations and individuals. There was a substantial response to the paper, and the SBS has now decided to proceed on the following basis:

- All applications to broadcast must be on an annual basis. New broadcasters will be required to audition.
- Auditions will be judged on the basis of acceptable programme standards, proposed content, and standards of presentation and production.
- There will be a set level of payment for each programme. Broadcasters and casual contributors will be paid on a scale established by the budget allocations.

- A minimum number of broadcasters are required. If a group broadcasts for 9 hours a week, for example, they must have at least four on-air presenters.

- Co-ordinators are employed at 'temporary part-time rates' on an annual contract. The rate is dependent on the number of broadcast hours they supervise.

- Co-ordinators are chosen by a special selection committee. They must demonstrate their skills in radio, their knowledge and involvement in the particular ethnic group, and their expertise in matching the requirements of their broadcasters with those of their audiences.

Despite SBS claims to be the largest organization of its type in the world, and to be free from e bureaucratic restrictions of a 'traditional public service monolithic structure', there are many who accuse it of inertia and are suspicious of the government's motives in setting it up. It will give the government, they say, a monopoly on all the news and information available to ethnic groups in Australia.

In 1980, the Government prepared legislation to set up an ethnic television service under the title of the Independent and Multi-Cultural Broadcasting Commission (IMBC), but the arrangements were so harshly criticized by a Senate Committee that the bill was withdrawn. Instead, the powers of the Special Broadcasting Service were used to make a start in October 1980 with a six-hour daily service in Sydney and Melbourne.

Still the suspicion remains that the government intends to use the SBS or a revised IMBC as a channel for all funds to public and educational broadcasting groups, as well as to ethnic broadcasting, and so bring the whole sector under the control of one service.

4. The Australian Video Access Project

Video access centres are small equipment and production resource centres provided for some communities, as an experiment in catalysing community groups, by providing them with video technology.

The Video Access Project did not start as a spontaneous community movement. It was nurtured and fostered by a small group of enthusiasts on the Film and Television Board of the Australia Council. The Council and the Board are concerned with funding and promoting the arts in Australia, and it was characteristic of the period (1974) that the Australia Council, the Federal Cabinet and the government itself (the Whitlam Labour administration) allowed the 'arts' limitation to be stretched to include video access for social change.

To the four original locations chosen eight more were added and a budget of A$ 500,000 allowed for the purchase of equipment and the hiring of staff. The model for the project, providing its guiding philosophy, was the Canadian National Film Board's Challenge for Change programme.

Of the twelve centres, two (Paddington and Carlton) were designated 'resource and access centres'.

Carlton (Melbourne--Victoria) Resource and Access Centre

Carlton is an inner city suburb with a mixture of well-to-do housing, semi-slums, and high-rise housing commission residences with problems of the working-class, migrants and unemployed.

The Carlton Centre was established in buildings owned and used by the Australian Union of Students. After many conflicts and upheavals it eventually emerged as the Melbourne Access Video and Media Co-operative (MAVAM) which has a production unit known as Open Channel.

The MAVAM co-operative was the first group to move substantially towards becoming financially self-supporting. They did this by operating the colour studio virtually as a commercial video production house. Because of these moves the F and TV Board (and later the Australian Film Commission) favoured them in the provision of funds for upgrading their equipment, and in the hiring of professional staff. They have also been funded to make pilot children's programmes for commercial sale.

In the year 1979-1980 they received funds from the Australian Film Commission (AFC) of:

$ 97,000	-	Operational grant
118,000	-	Capital equipment grant
103,000	-	Five-year loan

Income from Open Channel for the production of video tapes is listed at $274,000 -- with a total operational budget of over $300,000. Three years ago this centre was operating on a total budget of $44,000.

The budget estimates for this year are broken down into:

Equipment servicing and maintenance	17%
Administration	14%
Promotion	12%
Premises	6%
Other expenses	22%

MAVAM is incorporated as a Trading Society in Victoria. It is a non-profit organization and membership is open to anyone resident in Victoria. There are two categories of members:

Shareholders--voting members

Shares are $2, and voting members must attend at least one in every four general meetings and remain paid-up financial subscribers in order to retain voting status.

Subscriber members

Anyone may subscribe for $20 per year. Such members receive discounts on the hire of equipment and other services of the co-operative for this cost.

Shareholders must be approved by a two-thirds majority at a General Meeting (held monthly). There are seven Directors elected annually, and the Board meets monthly. Day to day operations are decided by the staff at staff meetings. They are paid normal salary levels, and a number of the staff are also Directors of the Board. There are eleven full-time staff members plus occasional workers. The co-operative retains its function as an Access Centre, and it produces the ACCESS VIDEO magazine which is widely distributed across Australia.

Emphasis in the last few years has been in developing the professional production side. They are now equipped with broadcast standard 1-inch and 2-inch video recorders and editors. The studio may be considered among the best available in Melbourne. They make commercials for television, sponsored programmes for companies, educational material, and recently they produced a successful children's television series known as 'Stax' which was sold to a commercial television network for $500,000.

The co-operative is at present generating about 60 per cent of its budget. Another 20 per cent comes from loans, and the remainder from government grants. They have pushed the Public Broadcasting Association of Australia into becoming the co-ordinating body for community television on a Federal level, and their own organization, PACT (Public Action for Community Television) lobbies independently, and has produced a number of pilot programmes to demonstrate to the government that the programming of a community television station is feasible.

Despite these activities they are not without their critics in the video access area. They have been widely accused of 'selling out the principles of video access', and of creating a government funded production house for their own benefit.

The access centres

Of the original ten pure access centres, two have failed completely and the others have modified their aims and activities to take themselves more into radio and print media, and become general community organizations.

Southern Media (N.S.W.)

This is a relatively new centre to the south of Sydney at Barwell Park. The suburbs surrounding the centre are predominently migrant working-class. Southern media was originally funded through a Disadvantaged Areas grant, but in the past few years it has come under the responsibility of the Australian Film Commission for its video activities. It receives an annual grant from the AFC of $32,000. It sees itself as a multi-media co-operative. It provides silk-screening and photographic facilities, and has an active community radio lobby which is trying to obtain a broadcast licence.

Southern Media is a younger, more active group who see video as only a part of the media process. They have recently joined with Western Access and Paddington in starting a campaign for community television in Sydney.

Frevideo (Fremantle, W.A.)

Fremantle is the port of Perth, the capital of Western Australia. The state is a million square miles in area, and the capital is well over a thousand miles from its northern tip, and the same distance for Adelaide, the nearest state capital. Fremantle is now a very arts-oriented community-active suburb, twelve miles from Perth. Frevideo is a well-recognized part of this community, and it has built up a good reputation around the state.

It was the first centre to get programme material on the air. Both of the Perth commercial television stations have run Frevideo programmes (fairly late at night) and a number of the larger regional stations have also run their material. Frevideo is well equipped with B&W and colour 'J' standard and U-matic equipment. It has a small studio.

Over the years it has built up a very successful relationship with the local government and some state government departments.

This is probably the most active and successful of the video centres, and it is the last to retain the original video access concept in its pure form. They are at present in the process of applying for a television broadcasting licence--although they show some naiveté in their estimations of the staff and budgets needed to programme four hours of television a day.

Their annual grant is $44,000 and they have a staff of three. They have been active in the past in producing migrant education tapes to assist migrants in understanding how the Australian hospital system operates, what to do in an accident, how to obtain unemployment benefits, etc.

Whyalla Community Media Access

Whyalla was potentially the most interesting of the video access centres, and it still survives.

Whyalla is a small industrial centre about 150 miles from the capital of Adelaide. It is an area known as the 'Iron Triangle'. Whyalla's population is about 34,000, although it was larger before the shipyard closed a few years ago. It is a one-company town, with B.H.P. (Australia's largest company) running the ship-building operation, and a steel mill. It has a high migrant population where almost every person works for B.H.P. or depends indirectly upon the company for employment.

The Director of the centre comments:

> 'As a result of this situation, "social action" as such is rare, and most people tend to accept the status quo ... In summary, we can say that we believe we are perceived within what we consider to be a relatively conservative and lethargic community as a production house producing videotapes for groups desirous of bringing about change in a slow and steady, rather than a swift and radical fashion.'

Groups within the community tend to look on the centre as a training ground for 'self improvement'. The centre has been told by the Mayor that they need not think of approaching the council with community group tapes again until a high standard of production is reached. Like other centres, they have found that the novelty value of video has now disappeared. They now accept that:

'the excellence in presentation is as important as the actual message.'

The type of tapes in production include:

'Whyalla in the 80s'	A summary of the alternative future views of the development of the town
'Nine down--ten to go'	A tape designed to impart the skills of ten-pin bowling to junior players
'We've got rights too'	A statement of rights by single mothers living within the city who feel that they are social misfits and outcasts due to their status.
'The Accountants'	A vocational guidance tape (first in a series for use in schools)
'This is Bill'	A plea for equality by the mentally handicapped attending the local special school.
'Tourism--a community effort'	A promotional tape which shows the walking trails in the Flinders Ranges, built by volunteers.

Tapes like these are made by the staff of two, with three part-time contract workers (when needed). If the tape is required by a non-profit organization, charges are made on the basis of cost less 25 per cent. The ten-pin bowling group, for instance will pay about $750.

When they are approached by a profit-making organization, or if they can find a commercial sponsor, the charges are much higher. B. H. P. is funding the career tapes on the basis of cost plus 33 per cent--about $2,500 per tape. The Director of the centre hopes that in the future a large percentage of his budget will come through these semi-commercial operations.

Whyalla receives $33,000 per year from the AFC, and they believe that given time and a good capital equipment budget they could generate another $20,000. Some income is generated at present through minor charges for workshops ($2 per head per hour), and through the hire of B & W portapaks (at about $12 per day). They are a non-profit co-operative with 35 individual members at $2 per year and 5 institutional members at $10 per year. They are taking as their model the Open Channel--MAVAM semi-commercial production house concept.

The Australian Video Access Project--Comment

With hindsight, it is easy to be critical of the Video Access Project. Many people associated with the centres in the early days would now consider it to have been a failure--some because it has moved away from the fundamental principles expounded by Challenge for Change, and others because it clung to these principles too long. Many people would claim that it could have been a success with increased funding--or better selection or training of the Centre Directors --or for any one of a number of different reasons. A few people would claim that it has been a success. With no way of measuring or demonstrating results, it becomes a matter of opinion.

For a while it appeared that the whole project would be abandoned--and this possibility is still in the cards for at least some of the centres. Instead, the government has simply cut the budgets in an attempt to force the centres to become self-sufficient, or to find other sources of funding. In most cases this has simply restricted the activities of the centres and resulted in a large amount of equipment remaining under-used.

A number of lessons can however be learned from the experiment:

- It was a mistake to start the scheme with so many centres--the original idea of four, would have been better. The centres would then have had sufficient funding and staff, and the staff could have been selected at a higher standard, and given more training.

- In future we should be more wary of being sold 'simple solutions' to complex social problems. The Challenge for Change approach resisted transplant to an Australian context.

- Australia was convinced by the 'process versus product' argument for many years. Process is only paid lip-service by the video movement now--but for years it was dogma. The move to produce product is tied in with the attempts to develop community television. Process is only the philosophy of the access providers. Access users must feel that they are capable of making a 'good' product or their interest wanes.

- Because of the 'process' emphasis, no attempt was made by the centres to enlist the help of people from the professional media areas. This had some value, but it also meant that much of the assistance that was available, was not used. This was especially true in terms of providing training to both the centre staff, and via them, to the users.

- One of the advantages of video--that it requires no processing, and that the tape can be re-used--is a positive disadvantage when it comes to editing. If selection is not made at the time of shooting then the editing process becomes incredibly tedious. This is especially true of reel-to-reel machines. The cost-saving is also largely a myth when hundreds (or thousands, in some cases) of videotapes are kept 'in case the groups want to use them again.' When this happens it becomes cheaper to shoot on Super 8 film, and select only the essential material at the time of shooting.

- The selection of the Video Centre staff was not very well thought out. No consideration was given in the early stages to selecting people with administrative ability or financial responsibility--and it should have been apparent that they would need to work under Public Service rules.

Overall, the centres must be judged in some sort of cost-benefit terms, simply because it must be decided whether future grants would not be better spent in other ways. There is a finite limit in the community to grants for social change, and there is a limited pool of energy, effort and frustration that active people in the community are willing to expend. Video access must also be judged in terms of the delay that it must have caused in the development of community and public radio. It is arguable that the money would have been better spent in this medium.

The experience teaches us that it is often important to avoid the appeal of high technology, when the same effect can probably be achieved by lower technology media. Community print facilities would probably have resulted in a number of good community newspapers; 35 mm. slide/tape programmes would probably have influenced local councils as much, or more than video--once the novelty effect had worn off. The equipment to make slide-tape programmes is already in the hands of most community groups but they do not seem to use them. We should ask ourselves, why? The main advantage of video is that it is part of a cheap, popular and widespread distribution system known as television. Many people in the video movement are only just beginning to be aware of this basic fact.

It is likely that the video centres will either follow the lead of MAVAM-Open Channel and become production houses for public television (if, or when it comes), or they will follow the multi-media path and begin to see the video equipment as simply another alternative to the typewriter, the audio cassette and the still camera. Possibly, because of the costs associated with video and the problems of distribution without television, it will gradually be phased out of the centres so that the money can be spent in more profitable ways.

Community television

The attempted change of name from Special Broadcasting Service to Independent and Multicultural Broadcasting Commission (see page 73) seemed to indicate that the government was intending to allow air-time on the Channels for non-ethnic community or public broadcasting.

The Public Broadcasting Association of Australia has been lobbying on behalf of the Community Television Groups for experimental television licences in Melbourne, Sydney and Perth. Of these three groups probably only MAVAM-Open Channel in Melbourne has the equipment and the staff to fill more than a couple of hours per week.

VIDAC-Mobile TV broadcasting

The VIDAC proposal for a mobile community television service was made in 1974. The concept was designed to provide an outlet for programmes made by the Video Access Centres. Basically the idea was to equip a large caravan with a small interview/presentation studio; two U-matic videotape replay units and a low-cost and reliable translator-transmitter. These transmitters put out between 10 and 180-watts and need almost no maintenance. Because it was felt that community television would need to be a special event rather than a daily routine, the idea was that the caravan/transmitter would service seven local areas around Sydney on a regular weekly schedule.

The caravan would be linked up to Yagi directional antennae on highpoints overlooking each of the seven areas. With the limited power it was estimated that an area about six miles long, by about three miles wide would receive good reception from each transmission point. This represented a potential audience overall of about 700,000--at a capital cost of between $30,000 and $50,000 (depending on whether B & W or colour equipment was used--1974 prices).

The van would be operated by two people, one concentrating on the technical aspects, and the other on presentation.

It was hoped that the idea would eventually be self-financing by the sale of air-time to government departments--for instance the Department of Health and Social Welfare, and the Department of Education. Programme material would come from these sources as well as from the access centres, schools and colleges, and from overseas (for ethnic programmes).

A Community Television Foundation was formed and applied for a television licence. It was approved in principle by the then Minister for the Media and was before Cabinet when the Labour Government was deposed in 1975.

5. Film and Cinema

The Australian Film Commission

The Australian Film Commission is the government funding body for the film and television industry. It provides grants, loans, distribution and promotion assistance for commercial cinema and television films made by Australians. The AFC has now taken over the funding of non-commercial films, public radio and the video access centres. This was previously under the control of the Film, Radio and Television Board of the Australia Council.

The AFC's Creative Development Branch now administers:

- The Experimental Film and Television Fund
- Film Production Fund
- Script Development Fund
- Video Fund (for Access Centres)
- General fund (which includes public radio, the educational use of media, the film co-operatives, film festivals, and film and TV publications.)

Virtually any form of non-print media in the Australian community would be eligible to apply for grants from this source. An application to the Creative Development Section would need to be for non-commercial, non-profit-making purposes.

Film Australia

Film Australia is the Federal Government's film-making organization based in Sydney. It is controlled by the Australian Film Commission, although it has the high degree of autonomy.

Film Australia has been involved in community-type projects in a way similar to that of the Canadian Film Board's involvement in Challenge for Change.

'What Ever Happened to Green Valley' was one such programme. It was first filmed and edited as a sociological documentary, then taken back to a large community meeting. Reactions

to the film were then recorded and incorporated in the programme. This film was instrumental in developing the idea of the Australian Video Access Project.

A similar process has been used in a series of three programmes on a small NSW country town, a Brisbane slum area, and a remote mining town. The resulting films are released for study in universities and elsewhere.

Film Australia have also undertaken a series of video programmes on youth unemployment which involves the young people themselves in the making and construction of the tapes.

Film co-operatives

A few years ago most of the States had a film co-operative, and these were loosely joined together to form an Australia-wide distribution system of alternative films. These co-operatives depended largely on government grants, and with the cut-backs in grant money in the 1970/1977 period, they generally ran into financial difficulties. Now only the Hobart and Sydney Co-operatives remain. Hobart is only just 'getting back on its feet--and not very active'. The Sydney Filmmaker's Co-operative remains by far the most viable and active. It grew out of an underground film association, known as UBU, in the 1960s. It was set up to provide distribution and exhibition facilities for members producing experimental and non-commercial films. They now have a relatively large cinema in Sydney's 'Soho'-Kings Cross and a staff of nine people. The co-operative also distributes films from overseas sources that would not normally be seen on the commercial cinema circuits.

The co-operative has about 480 members each holding five shares at $2 per share. Seven Directors are elected at an annual general meeting for a period of two years each. Half the Directors retire in rotation each year. Four staff members concentrate on the rental, distribution, and print-sales of member's films. The co-operative returns to filmmakers 75 per cent of print sales, and 50 per cent of rentals and exhibition earnings. Another four staff members are involved in administration, which includes the organization of the cinema. One staff member is full-time editor of the monthly newspaper 'Film news', which started out as an alternative newspaper, but has increasingly become a mainstream film industry paper with co-operative emphasis. Projectionists, ticket sellers, and promotions staff are hired on a casual basis. Policy decisions are made at monthly director/staff meetings; day-to-day operations are discussed at staff meetings held weekly. There is no firm hierarchy in the organization.

Borrowers of the films tend to come from secondary and tertiary education, political groups and trade unions. Most of these films are of the social-action documentary type.

In the last financial year the co-operative received an Australian Film Commission grant of $109,000 as an on-going contribution to operational expenses. They also had income of:

$50,000	Film rentals	- of which 50 per cent returned to filmmakers.
38,000	Exhibition income	- 50 per cent returned to filmmakers
32,000	print sales	- 75 per cent returned to filmmakers
9,000	newspaper advertising in Film Weekly	
13,000	Misc. income	

The co-operative also acts as a central resource for people making films. It provides contact with freelance technicians and writers involved in non-commercial production. It has also been the main lobbying force in maintaining a high level of grants for independent filmmaking through the creative Development Branch of the Australian Film Commission.

Chapter 5

CARIBBEAN CASE STUDY

The Banyan Project--Local television production in Trinidad and Tobago

by

Christopher Laird

Trinidad and Tobago is a twin island state at the southernmost end of the Caribbean archipelago and 60 miles off the eastern coast of Venezuela. Originally the home of Amerindian peoples it was invaded and occupied by the Spanish in the late 16th century. The majority of its European settlers came as refugees of the French revolution from the French territories in the Caribbean, encouraged to come with their slaves by the Spanish administration in Trinidad as fellow Catholics. Consequently, though Trinidad was captured by the British in 1797 and administered as a British colony until Independence in 1962, its early history accounts for the essentially Catholic and 'Latin' flavour of its culture. The predominent cultural influences however derived from the origins of the majority of the population, almost half of which can trace its ancestry to Africa and the other half to its ancestors brought in as indentured labour from India in the 19th century. A small but economically significant proportion of the present population of over one million has ancestral ties with Europe, China and the Middle East.

Culturally diverse, Trinidad and Tobago is famous for the invention of the steelband and for being the home of the Kaiso (or 'calypso' as it is known by Europeans). Moslem, Hindu and Christian festivals are celebrated nationally and side by side with the famous Carnival which rivals that of Rio for its splendour and scope. The educational system is the most comprehensive in the English-speaking Caribbean and is free to university level. Literacy levels are also among the highest in that part of the world. Economic dependence on traditional Caribbean crops of sugar and cocoa has been supplanted in this century by dependence on the nation's oil and natural gas reserves. Since the early 1970s revenue from oil has made Trinidad & Tobago one of the richest territories in the area despite the fact that these reserves are governed largely by multinational companies.

Under the apprent wealth, unemployment levels are high especially among the youth which comprise almost half the unemployed workforce in a population of which 65 per cent are under 25.

The combination of youth, education and unemployment in an apparently cash rich society is political dynamite, but is also fertile ground for the entertainment industry. The motion picture as in all the urban third world, occupies a major portion of this ground and the cinema, monopolized entirely by American studios and Indian distributors, has not suffered significantly from the intimate presence in almost all Trinagonians' homes of the ever-on television set.

Trinidad and Tobago is served by one television station, Trinidad and Tobago Television (TTT) which is owned by the Government of Trinidad and Tobago but run on a commercial basis. Established at the time of Independence, it was converted to colour around 1975. By 1978 the station was making a substantial profit despite the cost of conversion. This profit has grown steadily since--$1,600,000 US in 1979--with increasing saturation of advertising space and the demand for such space engendered by the commercial boom, a result of the increased oil revenue earned by the nation since the mid-70s. TTT is very proud of the fact that it is one of the few State concerns which makes a profit and, while some finance is reinvested in expanded facilities--yet to become a reality, most of the profits are consigned to the Treasury and not into the production of local programmes.

TTT estimates that about 30 per cent of its programming originates locally. This figure is generous and comprises mainly news, weather, interviews, sport, chat and talent shows, magazine programmes and one 1/2 hour 'play' a month. The remainder of the programming originates in the United States and Great Britain. The Government of Trinidad and Tobago makes use of 1/4 hour per day and 1/2 hour per week for its own public information programmes which are usually studio interviews. Other local programming is seasonal, e.g. variety shows at Christmas and blanket coverage of the Mardi Gras Carnival in February.

This situation, despite much in the way of official recommendations and reports, has remained substantially unchanged since the inception of the station. Meanwhile the viewing audience of Trinidad and Tobago has risen to proportions unique in the Third World. Though there are no official bodies or procedures serving Television or Radio in Trinidad and Tobago, it is estimated that there are close to 150,000 television sets in the country and a large proportion of these are colour sets. Thus, although an unusually large proportion of the population (clustered in urban centres and in strip development along the main roads) receives and enjoys television transmission, it is still, after 20 years of television service, rare for people to see their own country

and people on the screen, far less material coming from other countries in the area of the Third World. Instead, when Trinagonians settle in front of their television sets they are subjected to a stream of North American and European neuroses and values with which they are expected and encouraged to identify.

It was in an effort to counteract this situation that in 1974 Unesco, with the University of the West Indies Extra-Mural Department, persuaded TTT to co-operate in the sponsoring of a summer course aimed at training local talent in writing, directing and acting for television. Participants were drawn from local theatre groups and while TTT personnel were invited to participate, only one person took advantage of the opportunity. The director of the course was an experienced television director from Australia, Alan Kendall. Kendall was so successful not only in imparting the rudiments of television techniques and practices but also, more important, in inspiring the participants with an 'ideology of television' as a distinct medium that on completion of the course the participants formed the Trinidad and Tobago Television Workshop. Trustees of the Workshop were Unesco and the University of the West Indies Extra-Mural Department.

By this time, TTT's attitude to the newly found Workshop was uncooperative to say the least. In common with most facilities in the Third World at that stage in their country's development, much of the higher-level personnel (in TTT) were insecure, overworked, criticized and underqualified in their positions. Faced with a group of enthusiastic, creative, committed and newly inspired people enthusiastic about getting into television, TTT closed its doors.

While Workshop groups met independently to develop programme ideas, months and months of negotiation between the Workshop and TTT served only to discourage the Workshop and stymies its efforts. Most of the Workshop members eventually dropped out or were forced to direct their energies towards more immediate concerns, but perseverance by one of the Workshop leaders, Bruce Paddington, eventually secured a spot for a series of programmes called Banyan which commented satirically, sometimes interspersed with serious discussion, on institutions such as marriage, Carnival, education, etc. all from a local perspective and using indigenous dramatic forms. These programmes eventually got on the air over a year after the inauguration of the Workshop and achieved great success and popularity despite continued pressure from the station. Banyan was produced by TTT and the group was paid $300 US per programme at the height of its success.

New personnel who had not participated in the original course joined the group responsible for Banyan and eventually a core of some ten people resulted. This group comprised mainly young teachers and students and the programmes were constructed co-operatively with members writing, directing and acting satirical sketches. But one of the biggest stumbling blocks for the group was actualizing their efforts in television terms since the camera direction was totally under the control of the producer TTT had assigned to the programme. However, the group was fortunate to have assigned to it for a brief period (while the regular producer was away) a temporary producer--Lancelot Sargeant--who was in sympathy with its aims and with whom the group could work in a more consultative fashion. During this period Banyan produced the bulk of its most well-remembered work until it was banned and labelled as 'communist "pot" smokers'. Pressure from the press and from sympathetic members of TTT's Board led to a denial of a formal ban by the station but the producer was replaced and conditions were made impossible for any work of quality to be carried out under the auspices of the station.

It was at this stage that, on the strength of the group's popularity and its proven ability to communicate on a popular level, the Family Planning Association approached the group--which was by now known by the name of its series, Banyan--to do a serial for television examining family life problems in Trinidad & Tobago.

Banyan did three half-hour pilot programmes on half-inch monochrome with portable switching equipment lent, along with a director by the New York office of IPPF (International Planned Parenthood Federation). The pilots were recorded largely on location and on sets created in the backyard of one of the group's members. Shooting was completed in a matter of weeks working afternoons and evenings and the resulting programmes were well received by the Family Planning Association and IPPF who immediately contracted Banyan to do a 12-part (half-hour) serial in colour. For this we realized that buying equipment would be

more economical than renting and some of the budget was consequently used for the purchase of U-Matic (three-quarter inch) equipment, portable cameras (Sony 1610), editing controls and special effects generator. Bruce Paddington converted his garage into a custom-made space suitable for use as a studio for less than the cost of renting space would have been.

So there we were, in the position to make the first soap opera for television in the English-speaking Caribbean as our first project independent of the television station. It says something for our enthusiasm and self-confidence that we were not daunted by what seems in retrospect to have been a rather awesome predicament. Having absolutely no experience of how such projects were executed, we devised our own methods. We enlisted three directors: one drama director responsible largely for directing actors and building scenes; one television (video) director, responsible for converting the drama to camera and studio set; one technical director to supervise the crew, lighting and sound. The Technical Director (Tony Lutchman) was an experienced freelance director of television and film and we needed him to guide the Video Director (myself) and the Drama Director (Anthony Hall) since we were relatively inexperienced in the technical side of television production at that time. These three directors worked extremely well together and the co-operative methods of operation which evolved have formed an important element of Banyan's style ever since, though subsequently with increased technical experience we have used only two directors for drama productions, a drama director and a video director.

Another important element of Banyan's style which originated at this time was our method of scripting. We resisted pressures to employ a scriptwriter for a number of reasons: we were very clear about our 'ideology of television' as distinct from film and theatre and could think of no one with more experience than ourselves in translating Caribbean life into television; our actors were the only actors in the region whose sole experience had been acting for television and not the stage, their methods and the speed with which we all worked had developed talents in improvisation of dialogue and co-operative script building drawing directly from real events and personal experience and not from literacy conventions or sources. Consequently a script outline of each scene was built up by the Producer (Paddington), Hall and myself and this detailed outline was used as a basis for improvisation in rehearsals which were recorded, transcribed and edited into a script. In this way we were able to build over 100 scenes--six hours of drama.

Banyan actors were used as the core but actors from other sources had to be contracted as the cast numbered nearly 30. All the actors were paid, which in itself was a very unusual experience for actors in Trinidad where there are no professional actors. Actors drawn from established theatre groups were chosen for their television presence, their willingness to join in the script building and to adapt their techniques for the camera. In this, working alongside Banyan actors was very helpful by way of example, even for very skilled and experienced theatre actors. By gathering such a large cast and a team of production personnel--art director, musical director, production assistants, crew, caterers, make-up, props, etc.-- Banyan enlarged its 'community' service from the television viewer to the community of artists and creative people who do not often get a chance in Trinidad & Tobago to exercise their talents and, what is more, to get paid for their efforts.

Because the actors were either at work or at school (most of the crew and young actors were still at secondary school) all the shooting was done in the evening and on weekends. Shooting would sometimes go on late into the night and early morning. The series was completed inside three months and a rough edit was made locally for preview purposes and then the tapes were taken to New York where I edited the series in a professional video facilities house and 'bumped' the material up to 2" quadrichrome tapes. This exercise was done at extra cost but we felt it imperative that the excellent results we had got from actors in terms of content should not be wasted. The series was to be transmitted on Government time so the only objection that TTT could make was technical. Post-producing in New York and supplying TTT with professional standard tapes forestalled this objection.

The series, called Who the C.A.P. Fits ..., was a great success. Its technical quality is remarkable considering our resources at the time but perhaps its main strength is its content. For the first time Trinagonians saw their lives portrayed seriously yet with loving humour by actors who were closely related to their roles (the dialogue originating with them) unencumbered

with theatrical artifice (which characterizes local drama productions) or burlesque (the way we are usually portrayed on television).

Who the C.A.P. Fits ... is designed in an open-ended fashion, covering problems of family life occurring in the different racial, income and age groups of our country without prescribing solutions. The problems and situations explored were based on actual cases considered typical and touched the experience of many sections of the society in a way television had not done previously. The series has been repeated in Trinidad and shown in other Caribbean territories. Along with an excellent discussion guide published by the FPA and IPPF, it is used extensively in schools and community groups with great success as it is available in both 16mm film and U-Matic versions.

After this success we no longer had to post-produce in New York, subsequent work proving itself technically to TTT's engineers. But the use of Government time to bypass TTT editorial censure became the only way for us to operate for the time being. Since all our programmes are educational or of a public information nature, and the Government (the Prime Minister's office, to be exact) did not have enough material of its own, once we could satisfy them that a programme was of national significance, it was accepted. It was an ironical situation where the Prime Minister's office was more helpful and less reactionary than the television station.

This arrangement of course comes with its own problems, since we were often used by Government Ministries for what could be described more accurately as public relations than as public information. Also there are many things we have done that have not been accepted for for showing. Banyan has enjoyed public support and in the effort not to lose this we have always endeavoured to produce programmes which avoid accusations of having 'sold out'. Thus we constantly walk a fine line between our commitment and our client's wishes, to the extent, many times, of doing work where no client exists but which we think important and worth trying to get shown somehow.

In the last three years Banyan's relations with TTT have improved. This is due to a change in TTT's management personnel, to the technical standard of our product and to the positive response TTT receives from showing our programmes. All our programmes are supplied free of charge to TTT.

In 1978 our activities became diversified. Three large schools in the area of our studio joined in a community project and, under the instigation of Bruce Paddington who was employed as Audio-Visual co-ordinator at one of the schools, Banyan was used as the technical unit for the production of educational materials for the project. Most of our crew (who had by this time left school) were also employed as audio-visual technicians in the schools and, before the project obtained equipment of its own (two years later), Banyan equipment and expertise was used free of charge.

One of the most successful of these activities is the production of a Sesame Street style series to teach Spanish. These programmes are shown three times a week on TTT and are available for use in the classroom by the schools involved in the project or by any other educational body. Besides the Spanish series we do programmes on aspects of the arts and culture including series on Carnival and literature. Areas in the curriculum such as science, social studies and mathematics have also been sources of programmes.

About half of Banyan's time during the past three years has been in the direct production of educational television (the only educational television in Trinidad & Tobago) which is something to which Banyan has been committed from the inception of its activities. For this work Banyan receives no substantial payment--the project's budget allowing only for actual production costs such as set, graphics, presenter fees, etc.--though its personnel have their incomes subsidized by the project. Now that the project has received most of its own equipment, its activities are becoming more distinct from Banyan though some of its personnel remain in common. A recent Government committee has recommended the establishment of a full educational audio-visual/television unit with a full studio and staffing using the present project as its core.

Banyan's own activities rely on commissions from Government departments, commercial or charitable bodies; we have done numerous programmes to inform the public about cancer, the blood bank, census, water and sewerage, and extensive work for the Ministry of Agriculture in the field of agricultural extension services.

We avoid, unless desperate, the production of advertisements and even then limit our brief excursions into that field to more conscienceable items such as road safety, metrication, etc.

Banyan is a unique organization not only in its concerns, being committed to quality local programming, education and public information and the development of a constructive self-image of our country and community, but also in the way it has evolved organizationally and physically.

When Banyan became technically independent from the studios of TTT it also became a business. Work had to be generated to pay for the purchase and maintenance of equipment and facilities. This changed the nature of the amateur group that gathered once or twice a week to work on programmes for TTT. The more technical members eventually became committed full time to Banyan, having to surrender their previous jobs. Others, such as those primarily interested in acting, music, writing, were dependent for their involvement on the nature of the business Banyan was able to attract.

Attracting drama productions is difficult. Since Who the C.A.P. Fits ... we have been commissioned to do only two other drama productions. One was a twelve-episode series on the rights of the child for the International Year of the Child, commissioned by the Ministry of Community Development and the other was a 40 minute anti-smoking drama for the Cancer Society.

Drama productions enable us to utilize all the talent that we would like in our efforts to portray our people and our lives on the screer in the hope of supplanting some of the products of cultural neo-colonialism. Unfortunately, however, if a client is to spend US $10,000 on a half-hour programme, it is more likely that a documentary will be commissioned rather than a drama, in the belief that more hard information can be crammed into such a format.

Because of the wide spectrum of work that Banyan undertakes, its structure centres on a small core of permanent staff (about 6 people: producer, director, production manager, technical director, trainee/technician, trainee/production assistant). With such a small staff and with Banyan's commitment to co-operative methods, there is no strict job division and any member of the staff may be called on to carry out any of the tasks required of video production from typing to editing, from set construction to lining up the cameras, from carrying equipment to directing. Apart from the core there is a large reservoir of freelance talent upon which Banyan can call according to the demands of the work in hand. There is a nagging sense of regret in Banyan that constant dramatic work cannot be assured so as to enable a team of actors, make up, props, design and other talent to be permanently occupied providing a training ground and a means of livelihood for a creative community which seldom finds satisfactory outlets for its talents.

There are now two or three other independent video production houses in Trinidad and Tobago. Unlike Banyan's informal growth and structure, these houses have been set up along strict commercial lines and produce advertising almost exclusively. Only doing that sort of work can give them the return on the massive investments that their sophisticated technology demands. At least one of these houses has attempted to carry out public information programming but has not yet managed to complete any such projects to a satisfactory standard except by restricting themselves to studio interviews. Banyan has become known for its location work, for going out to the people and the countryside.

Our equipment, like our production methods, has always been designed for speed, flexibility and portability while maintaining the highest quality control over our product. After our first drama serial, the equipment we used for that project was taken over by the Family Planning Association, but with the help of some basic items of equipment granted us by Unesco and with financial help from work we carried out --with that and from private loans, we have managed to obtain a range of equipment which is better for portable work even than TTT and which is ideally suited to what we do. Electronic equipment is designed to operate ideally in deep space. Sophisticated video apparatus does not go together with tropical climates, salt, air, dustry locations under blazing sun or torrential rain. Yet despite this we have found that with care and attention to cleaning and to the quality of results, equipment can endure surprisingly long and continue to produce results acceptable to transmission engineers.

Nevertheless, in our budgeting we have to estimate for an equipment life of two years either due to obsolescence or systems failure. Also since local electronics skills are limited, equip-

ment has to be sent to the USA for repair and once a year we have had to import an engineer to supervise maintenance locally. One member of our staff is currently training in electronics in New York while other members have taken advantage of locally-run evening classes in Radio & TV Servicing for a national qualification.

With the pressure to maintain our technical standard, Banyan like its commercial competitors, is under a certain amount of obligation to do work which brings in money to allow it to continue to exist. We are very aware also of the dangers of upgrading our facilities too fast and thus intensifying the financial pressures on us which would compromise our community and social commitment further.

Luckily we have a reputation for documentary work and therefore we are not forced to do advertisements. Last year one of our documentaries From Village to Best Village, a documentary on the annual folk festival in Trinidad & Tobago, won a special prize at the Commonwealth Film and Television Festival in Nicosia where it was commended:

> 'For its convincing use of low-budget video production facilities to reflect community life.'

But relying on commissions does not allow us the freedom to choose the areas in which we would like to document ourselves, though we have built up an impressive archive collection on historical, political and cultural personalities and events for which we will one day be able to find the opportunity for showing.

Doing commissioned work has, however, allowed us in the last year to divert earnings into financing our own projects. In the summer of 1981 we shot a four-episode drama series of our own design. We also shot 25 hours of material at the Caribbean Festival of Arts (CARIFESTA) in Barbados in August from which we will be assembling at least three documentaries depending on what bodies we can get interested in sharing the costs of production. None of this work was commissioned and we are not sure of recovering costs. Since there is only a handful of stations in the English-speaking Caribbean, some of them operating on differing standards and only one station in Trinidad & Tobago, one cannot expect much return on 'selling' one's programmes unless a much wider market is obtained. For example, TTT has indicated it could pay as much as $1,200 US for each of our drama programmes if they are acceptable. Each of these programmes has cost us to date $8,000 US to produce. Nevertheless this sort of effort is one which we are committed to continuing and it should eventually forge channels by which we can produce work of our own and recover cost as well as secure transmission.

In summary, we can say that a course financed by Unesco in 1974 has led directly to the establishment of a unit producing indigenous television and pioneering forms of television drama and documentary styles unlike any seen previously in Trinidad & Tobago and the Caribbean, a unit which was also instrumental in inaugurating educational television in Trinidad & Tobago and has formed a basis for training in television techniques and practices.

This may sound complacent, but Banyan's achievements are a matter of record and a large body of work (nearly 200 programmes transmitted) stands testimony to this--not least a prize at an international festival. Nevertheless these achievements are the result of struggle, hard work and commitment. Banyan continues to operate under severe conditions, many of its early personnel have moved on to receive training at a higher level in North America and Europe so training of new personnel is continuous while work becomes more sophisticated and demanding. Walking the line between the demands of commercial commissions and the original aims of Banyan represents a continual strain on the integrity and the spirit of us all. To this end our recent moves to plough the earnings of such commissions directly back into work of our own choosing is welcome and satisfying but signals a new stage of endeavour in the effort to 'market' such work and the substitution of compromise with clients to compromise with exhibitors.

Chapter 6

EUROPE

by

Peter M. Lewis

EUROPE

		Page
1.	Background data	91
2.	Independent film and video	93
3.	Local television	94
4.	Local radio	95
5.	Alternative press and publishing in Britain	103
6.	Post-script	106
7.	References	106

1. Background data

Europe occupies less than 4 per cent of the world's surface. Its population, a little under 500 million, is about 13 per cent of the world's four and a half billion. Yet its cultural, political and economic power have for long been so dominant that in many parts of the world European or Western frames of reference still determine the very way history, geography, economics and cultural questions are perceived and discussed.

The political division of Europe into Eastern, socialist countries, allied to the USSR in the Warsaw Pact, and the Western, NATO alliance (with the exception of neutral, unaligned countries) is the most striking fact, whose relevance for the enquiry is the difficulty of obtaining information about community media from Eastern European countries... (The gross figures in this section however relate to all European countries and are taken from the UN Demographic Yearbook.)

Apart from this East/West divide, within the region the distribution of wealth and living standards for the most part favours the north against the southern, Mediterranean areas, and this has led to a flow of migrant workers northwards into the big industrial cities, assisted by the regulations and rights established under the Treaty of Rome which set up the European Economic Community. An influx of citizens of non-European origin, coming from countries which were the former colonies of Western powers has led to concentrations of ethnic groups in cities and to legal restrictions on entry as well as social discrimination against the immigrants and their families in their daily life.

The distribution of the population between rural and urban dwelling in the region as a whole is 56 per cent rural to 44 per cent urban. Individual figures range from Yugoslavia and Romania whose rural population is nearly double that of the urban, through Denmark and Ireland where the balance is even, to the United Kingdom (75 per cent urban) and Netherlands (87 per cent urban and semi-urban). Population densities range from 47 per sq. km (Ireland) to 338 per sq. km. (Netherlands)

There is still a tendency for increased urbanization, within which the decay of inner city areas leads to a flight of people and industries to the suburbs. The decline of major traditional industries, such as steel, in the face of a fall in world demand, and competition in others (car and cloth manufacture, electronics) from the USA, newly industrialized nations and Japan, has been a factor in urban dereliction, while at the same time there has been no recolonization of the countryside. New town developments, sited at some distance from urban centres, are a feature of the region. These are often without sufficient cultural and social amenities and reinforce the anonymity of modern urban life. Unemployment and inflation are running high. The growth of micro-chip manufacture and use is a contributory factor in the redistribution of labour, the high level of unemployment and the increasing importance placed by the authorities on retraining and life-long education.

The European Economic Community (of which 10 countries are members), in addition to being the world's largest trading bloc, has now added a political dimension in the European Parliament with its secretariat based in Brussels.

While generally the standard of living is far higher than in the Third World (average per capital income US $ 3,060 in 1977) the difference between rich and poor is very marked in most European Countries with very poor health and housing conditions in pockets of urban dereliction and areas of persistent unemployment.

Turning to education and culture, levels of literacy are high (figures for Belgium, 3.3 per cent illiteracy, Yugoslavia 16.5 per cent illustrate the range). Comparisons between Europe and Africa are revealing, for the populations of the two regions (13 per cent and 15 per cent respectively of the world total) are similar, whereas Europe covers only one sixth of the land-mass of Africa.

	World	Africa	Europe
Pupil enrolment (all schools--thousands)	569,157	52,760	91,379
Book titles per million inhabitants	186	27	565
% distribution of book production	100	1.9	45.6
Newspapers-- No. of dailies	7,900	190	1,660
Circulation (millions)	408	6	115
per thousand inhabitants	130	14	243
Cinemas (thousands)	267	3.1	60
Radio transmitters	25,510	455	5,980
receivers (millions)	953	8.95	157
Television transmitters	24,980	59	11,250
receivers (millions)	384	0.271	117

Data relating to structure and control of mass media are less easily tabulated. In Eastern Europe supervision of broadcasting and the press usually comes under a state committee for the media. The special arrangements in Yugoslavia are described later. Most Western European countries describe their press as 'free', a word which originally related more to the historical process of liberation from state censorship in the 18th and 19th centuries than to a comparison with the situation of socialist societies. The 'freedom' of Western newspapers must be seen as qualified by the nature of their ownership (mostly conservative and conglomerate, if not multinational), by the increasing tendency towards concentration of ownership, by the convulsions caused by the introduction of new technology and by the competition of new media such as broadcasting and teletext, all set against a background of the rising cost of newsprint, transport and labour.

Broadcasting and telecommunications are subject to more direct political control than the press. The usual model is for public corporation of authority placed under the overall direction of government and/or parliament with the relationship of powers defined by legislation, but with the broadcasting organization having an 'independent' status.

Even where a mixed system operates and a public broadcasting corporation co-exists with a commercially operated, private system, as in the UK, the government reserves to itself the monopoly ('duopoly') of transmissions. In nearly all cases telecommunications authorities (PTTs or Post Offices) double as regulatory bodies and as operators.

In one country, Luxembourg, the state licences a private, commercial enterprise and RTL is only one of a number of commercial stations which broadcast entertainment and music programmes on high-power across frontiers. Several, broadcasting in French and based outside France, are owned by companies in which the French government has a majority share-holding.

Apart from Luxembourg, all Western European countries finance broadcasting from a licence-fee system, some supplementing this source with advertising revenue.

As far as regulation and control are concerned, two conflicting trends can be remarked--one towards what might be called 'multinational programming', the other, which will be discussed in more detail later in this study, towards decentralization.

Public service broadcasting in Western Europe is generally in a state of crisis--a crisis of finance and of identity. Even within public corporations the financing of some programming is dependent on co-production or pre-transmission foreign sales agreements. More and more the trend is towards a world market determining what is produced within a country. Besides this,

video-discs and domestic video recording are already beginning to make inroads on audiences. Cable television has long flourished where trans-border signals are attractive to a domestic audience. Now the imminent arrival of direct broadcasting satellites promises to add abundance to existing cable services and revive those which, as in the UK, were in decline. The 'footprints' of satellites will overspill national boundaries and the prospect of European audiences, augmented by the extension of cable, will obviously attract American programming and advertising. Even though most countries limit the amount of American material allowed on domestic channels, the 'multinational effect' is likely to make its impact during this decade.

By contrast, decentralization has allowed broadcasting to reflect regional culture in, for example, the German Federal Republic and Switzerland, or a range of socio-political groupings as in the Netherlands. The largest controlled expansion on local radio is to be found in Yugoslavia and in the UK; Sweden has also set up local radio both within and outside its main broadcasting system. In Italy, where the state broadcasting organization is judged not to have a monopoly at local level, there has mushroomed the biggest proliferation of local stations in the world. In France a new Socialist administration, having granted an amnesty to the previously illegal 'free radios', is working out plans for a decentralized local radio system.

Any attempt to summarize developments in community media in Europe must take account of the valuable series of studies commissioned by the Council of Europe from 1973 onwards to the end of the decade. These studies, together with the material discussed at a symposium at Liège in 1978, were summarized by Paul Beaud in Community Media? Local Radio and television and audio-visual animation experiments in Europe, Council of Europe, 1980. (Also in French version). Since Beaud's work (referred to hereafter as Beaud 1980) is based on reports and fact-finding visits some of which are more recent than those of Berrigan 1977, it is on Beaud 1980 and the later Council of Europe studies on which he draws that this section is mainly based.[1] Additions and updating comments are based on fresh material and reports gathered specifically for the present Unesco study.

2. Independent film and video

A large amount of small-scale film and video production exists in the region. It is 'independent' in relation to the commercial cinema and to state or commercial broadcasting, but often is assisted by government grant as part of a policy to encourage educational, cultural or social development activities. Where such grants have decreased owing to the recent recession, the more sophisticated groups have survived by selling product to broadcasting or by undertaking contracts for industry, education, etc. The increasing availability of home video is an important factor whose effect in this field has yet to be properly assessed.

In Britain, the portapak began and ended the 1970s as an alternative medium, outside the institutionalized setting of mass media. This distance was both important to video practitioners for whom too close an association with broadcast institutions and norms would have been politically unacceptable; and it was also a hindrance in that it made distribution more problematic. During the decade distribution and finance went hand in hand as the two biggest difficulties for video.

In the early 1970s the Conservative-inspired community cable television initiative acted as a focus for video activists and a catalyst for activities in their own areas. The experiments have been amply reported elsewhere.[2] Outside the few locations where cable stations supported video activity, a lack of funding hampered the development of the medium.

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1. Beaud 1980 uses other sources besides the Council of Europe series, the most important of which are his own work with colleagues on Switzerland and Quebec (Beaud et al 1976, Beaud et al 1979,) and an INA study of local radio in Europe (Chaniac, Flichy, Sauvage 1978), as well as Autrement 1979--see bibliography.

2. Halloran (1975 A and B), Dunn (1977), Lewis (1978) and Bibby et al (1979)

The British Film Institute (BFI), which might have been expected to have provided support since television was included in its terms of reference, was going through a period of intensely theoretical preoccupation and found a problem in the inter-disciplinary character of video used in community work. The Arts Council however was persuaded otherwise, mainly by the efforts of the Association of Community Artists, and set up a Community Arts Committee (1975) which continues to support video.

The Directory of Videotapes compiled by the London Community Video Workers Collective (LCVWC 1979) lists tapes under forty different subject headings and the 45 sources which are the main video groups in the country. In fact such a list under-represents the extent of community video in Britain today. Compared with ten years ago, much more equipment can be found in higher education, and the considerable growth of commercial video provides a means of support for many workers whose main interest lies in the community use of the medium.

At the same time an infrastructure of playback and editing facilities allows local authorities, voluntary organizations, and other groups to commission work without actually having to maintain their own video units. The technology of editing and this network of interchange has led to a much higher standard of product than was seen in the early 1970s and distribution is a small source of revenue for some groups.

One of the best known video resource centres is Fantasy Factory in central London, whose directors, Hall and Hopkins, are joint-editors of JCATS (see bibliography) and with Arts Council support produced the Video Distribution Handbook (Hall and Hopkins 1978) which lists distributors, venues, software producers and hardware sources. Fantasy Factory's services include a print library, information service and consultancy, provision of training courses in video and production, post-production and editing and facilities. Hopkins and Hall have also written a video training manual for Unesco and patented an editing interface between half-inch gauge video and three-quarter-inch U-matic.

What has recently become important for British video producers is the possibility of access to the fourth broadcast TV channel which is intended to offer space for independent productions. 'Channel Four' is not due to open until 1982 and it remains to be seen whether this outlet (which will be a national, not a regional, network) will stimulate community video activity.

3. Local television

Although six cable TV experiments were planned in France only one, Videogazette in in Grenoble, actually emerged and this ended when central government funding was not renewed in 1976. In Britain the two cable TV stations (Swindon Viewpoint and Milton Keynes Channel 40) which remained from the original six have closed down for lack of finance. There is now therefore no local television in Britain.

Local experiments in the Netherlands have dwindled to one, Switzerland's are not extant and in any case were intermittent, and only Belgium, whose geographical position and well-developed cable networks make it the country with the most potential for this medium, continues to sustain local television.

On the eve of the arrival in Europe of direct satellite broadcasting, it is worth pausing to comment on this situation. What has been learnt is that locally originated programming in itself is not sufficiently popular to sustain a channel. Cable is only viable if it provides services which viewers cannot easily receive over the air. Where community or public access programming has been mandated by a licencing authority (USA, Canada), it is because it is part of a deliberate cultural policy that has regard to the relative weakness of the domestic public broadcasting. The more established European tradition of state-linked public broadcasting has till now been seen as the main instrument of national culture and information, and there has been little central government enthusiasm for publicly funded community television.

With the threatened competition of satellites and video-discs and the pressure which already exists to compete for world sales, the trend in national services is away from the regional and local, and governments and broadcasting authorities may begin to consider revising their policies towards cable. The profits which will undoubtedly flow into cable once the link with satellites has been achieved may be looked on as a taxable source of finance which might either

support local channels or be directed across to bolster a failing licence and advertising revenue in public broadcasting.

Italy as always is an exception but countries such as Britain and Sweden which have already developed public-service local radio may trust to that medium to defend and reflect local culture, whether or not public participation is a feature of the operation.

A fair generalization about European experience in community television and radio is this: considered from the point of view of the audience, the difference in quality between what can be produced by non-professionals and mainstream professional broadcasting is acceptable on radio and not on television. If we add to this the fact that radio production is cheaper and involves less time and energy, it is not surprising to find more attention being given to this medium by a range of activists from trade unions and political groups, to social and community workers, to those interested in the medium for its own sake. Several European governments too have set in train significant developments in local radio. It is to this medium that we turn next.

4. Local radio

Sweden

Swedish Broadcasting's local radio service (Sveriges Lokalradio or LRAB) is proving increasingly popular with the audience. There are 23 local stations which began broadcasting in 1977 with staffs that range from 12 to 25. The stations transmit about three hours a day of local information, arts and music, with an average of 65 per cent speech. Stations are obliged to transmit minority language broadcasts where language communities exist which are larger than 2,000 speakers. Times of transmission are usually 07.00-08.30, 12.00-12.30, 17.00-18.00, and stations relay in addition up to 4 hours of the national radio 3 (pop music). The overall budget allocated for the first year was 83m Swedish crowns[1] and Parliament itself decides on what proportion of this shall go to each station. Surveys in 1980 show that the average time that listeners spent daily with the local programming had doubled in the preceding year to 42 minutes a day.

Sweden is also carrying out a three-year experiment in Neighbourhood Radio (NR) which is quite independent of Swedish Broadcasting. A public authority, known as the Neighbourhood Radio Committee (NRC), was authorised to select 18 locations where local groups could apply to rent transmitter time for a minimum of 15 minutes a week. By the final application date 540 local associations had applied and 70 national organizations had expressed interest in making use of the stations through their local branches.

The NRC staff centrally vet these applications (applicant groups have to be legal persons carrying out non-profit, political, trade-union or religious activities in the locality) and construct the schedule for each transmitter. The rental cost for each transmitter is 8,000 crowns per year which is shared between the organizations renting time. In Stockholm where the largest volume of broadcasting takes place (70 organizations transmitting 157 hours a week), the cost is half a crown per 15 minutes. Transmission is handled by the National Telecommunications Administration. Production costs have to be met by the contributing organizations.

A year after the start of the scheme in the autumn of 1979, it was possible to summarize the type of use made of the transmitters. Sixteen stations were transmitting a total of 504 hours a week, an average of 30 hours. The range was 4 hours (5 days a week by 5 organizations) to 157 hours in Stockholm.

The church organizations showed the most interest; political parties were keen up to the 1979 election and thereafter less interested. Trade unions have not participated much. Immigrant groups have used NR from the beginning especially in the main cities. Young people have been particularly keen to form groups to play specialized music, an assertion of cultural identity perhaps caused by their non-recognition in national broadcasting. Pensioners on the other hand are almost entirely absent from the list of those participating. The most thriving participation comes from localities where there is a broad basis of political, religious and cultural programmes.

1. 5 crowns = (approx) 1 US dollar

An average of 30 per cent of the population is claimed as an audience by NR with 'regular' listeners ranging from 9 to 19 per cent. NR staff think that reactions of local newspapers to this new medium affect the listening figures. NR is ignored in the Gothernberg press but given generous treatment in Stockholm.

Sweden is almost the only European country to have allowed regulated expansion of community radio outside its national system.

Italy

Italy by contrast is an important example of deregulation at local level. The lessons are by no means all negative, and the following account, taken from a 1979 study[1] was written with the intention of assisting Third World countries to draw useful conclusions from the Italian experience. Although more recent information suggests that the trend continues towards more commercial music stations and less politically oriented speech and music stations, the example given here provides an interesting instance of community media at work.

An official survey of local radio in June 1978 counted 2,275 radio stations and 506 TV stations, giving Italy a world record in numbers of radio stations per head of population (1 per 24,747). In terms of geographical coverage, the figures are even more striking, Italy has one radio station per 132 sq. km. compared to the runner up, the USA, with one per 1,170 sq. km.

Italy has a population of 56 million and constitutionally is divided into 20 regions, each with a large degree of autonomy. From 1946 until 1963, the conservative Christian Democrat Party held firm control. From 1963, it was forced to form a succession of coalitions with the Left, which nonetheless excluded the Communist Party, the largest in western Europe. From 1975, however, when the Communists won a third of the votes in the regional elections, until 1979, the government was based on coalitions which relied on the neutral support of the Communists.

A consequent relaxation of Christian Democrat control over RAI, the national broadcasting organization, was accompanied by a pressure on all sides for RAI's reform, outflanked by a number of stations, both radio and TV which opened up, exploiting loopholes in the law. Most were prosecuted as illegal, but their appeals were upheld and the legal confusion had to be clarified by two Supreme Court decisions, in 1974 and 1976, which ruled that the state monopoly did not apply locally.

Unfortunately, the legislation which followed the 1974 ruling did not provide for means to regulate the local stations. The consequence is that any group may broadcast locally, selecting any frequency which appears to be unoccupied. In this anarchic situation, there is a tendency to escalate transmitter power to counter interference, with the result that weaker signals and groups with less financial support disappear.

The growth of these stations has been encouraged by the right and centre parties who see them as a compensation for loss of control over the central national broadcasting system. And the longer the unregulated state of affairs continues, the more the forces of the market place will favour the commercial stations against the non-commercial. Thus, although the right in Parliament is nominally subscribing to legislative moves to bring the chaos under control, it is in no hurry to agree on the details of legislation.

Three quarters of the local stations are run as commercial enterprises, financed by advertising and sponsorship, and are virtual extensions of the music and electronic industries. Most transmit non-stop music in a conventional disc jockey style. The remaining quarter (or less) of the 'free' radio stations are run on a non-profit basis, by spontaneous groups or by local

1. Low Cost Communication Systems for Educational and Development Purposes in Third World Countries by R. Postgate, P.M. Lewis & W. Southwood for Unesco MMST Division and the Intermediate Technology Development Group. The chapter on Italy from which this section is abridged was based on a visit made by the present writer and on information supplied by the station and collected by Giuseppe Richeri and Danielo Doglio. The sections on Yugoslavia and Ireland which follow are also abridged from the above-mentioned Unesco study.

social and cultural bodies with the support of political parties and organizations of the right and left. The latter predominate since they have few outlets in the traditional media of the press and national broadcasting.

These non-profit stations obtain some of their finance from advertising and sponsorship. Listener subscriptions and various fund-raising activities contribute other revenue. Equipment is often supplied free or at low cost by manufacturers in return for on-air mention, and premises are found either with sympathetic landlords or in unoccupied buildings. A large proportion of the labour involved is voluntary and part time; those concerned are mostly young people, either students or unemployed and living on social welfare. Control of policy is usually organized on democratic lines with all those working in the station, whether paid or voluntary, having a right to participate in decision-making.

For a more detailed picture, we turn now to a local station in Bologna. An ancient university town of half a million inhabitants, Bologna is the seat of the regional government of Emilia Romagna, which lies between Rome and the Po valley to the north. For over ten years, the region has had a Communist administration. Some 40 local radio stations at present operate in the area of Bologna; the one newspaper which serves it is right-wing and strongly entrenched. Radio Città is on the left, politically.

Radio Città began regular transmission in November 1976. It was formed by a group of professional journalists whose earlier efforts to sustain an alternative left-wing newspaper had failed, and who decided to re-invest the remaining capital in a radio station providing a service of cultural information different from the other local media. As compared with a newspaper, a radio station offered advantages of immediacy, a wider audience and lower running costs.

Income totalling 5 million lire a month (1 US dollar approx. = 835 lire) comes from on-air advertising (L 2 million) from the operation of a news and advertising agency for other alternative media--selling to other radio stations, to trade unions and student groups (L.1 1/2 million); from sales of hi-fi equipment, records and tapes, from listener subscriptions and funds raised in promotional activities such as concerts and film shows(L.1 1/2 million).

Outgoings are as follows:

	Lire
Monthly salaries	2,600,000
Rent	350,000
Telephone, lights, heating	400,000
Materials (tapes, etc.)	500,000
Maintenance and equipment replacement	700,000
Sundries	400,000
	L. 4,950,000

The station uses a 400 w VHF transmitter, transmitting on 103 MHz, which cost L.13 1/2 million. The cost of the remaining equipment is L. 9 million. There are current plans to acquire a mobile facility for outside recordings.

The station's legal entity is a co-operative. There are 13 full-time staff members with particular responsibilities but capable of interchange. In addition to the full-time staff, some 20 volunteers, work for varying amounts of time weekly on programmes. Decisions are taken by an assembly meeting every fortnight at the request of any member.

Transmissions are from 6 a.m. to 2 a.m. daily. News and information, e.g. about food prices, cultural and political events and meetings, are broadcast each morning. In May 1977, the schedule showed regular space provided for trade unions, the women's movement, education for medical students, safety at work; programmes for and by prisoners, naturists, craft

workers, strip artists, the police, with jazz, rock and Greek music (a large number of foreign students in Bologna are Greek), and sports programmes. Sunday was an open day with free access to any groups or individuals who wished.

The station admitted to having been influenced by community media models in Quebec, but had rejected the American system of listener-subscription. Training is offered to all who need it. A board member said 'we aim at creating an outlet that is different from other mass media. In Bologna there are many local viewpoints and much is going on, but there is little space for it all in the press and conventional radio. We should be a medium for voicing all this reality'.

The station estimates that 15,000 listeners tune in regularly, mainly from the urban area. Apart from involvement in programme productions, they participate in phone-ins and at concerts and other promotional activities.

Yugoslavia

Local radio is of peculiar interest in Yugoslavia because in its operation, as in all economic, social and political spheres, the system of self-management is applied to an extent which merits close scrutiny in any study of community media. Moreover the federal nature of the constitution devolves control of media to the Republics and Provinces (8 in all), so that decentralization and consequently the local autonomy of the system is very considerable.[1] By some accounts, though not the official Yugoslav ones, the present system arose from the acceptance and de jure recognition by the authorities of a rapid spread of local radio as a result of unauthorized local initiatives. In this respect, then, the Yugoslav reaction would have been similar to the Belgian described later.

In Yugoslavia, self-management as a principle is built into the structure of every work and social organization. Every enterprise or institution is controlled by an assembly composed of representatives of the various 'basic organizations of associated labour' or work units. This ensures that at the level of daily work and in the strategic planning of the organization the workers agree on objectives and the means of attaining them, and on the distribution of profits and a proportion of their own and colleagues' wages.

All the other areas of life which affect work--education, training, leisure facilities, health and housing--also come within the scope of discussion and decision-making at the level of the basic organization of associated labour.

In the community also, people are organized in self-managing groups and by a process of delegation affect decision-making up through the levels of province and State to the Federation.

In the field of professional or public interest or in leisure, culture and the arts, the same principle applies: there are self-managing 'communities of interest' whose creation is provided for by Yugoslav law and the Law on Associated Labour.

Against this background, information can be seen not only as, in some senses, a product of labour and a matter of public interest, but as a fundamental pre-requisite for the achievement of self-management rights.

The right to full, timely and objective information is built into the statutes, while by-laws of the work organizations establish the forms and means of communication as well as the interval of time in which certain information will be supplied. Sanctions can be applied for instance,

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1. No other European country includes in so small an area so many nations and national minorities. The population of 21 1/2 m. includes Serbs (41%), Croations (21%), Moslems, Slovenes, Albanians, Macedonians and Montenegrans among its largest constituents. Vojvodina, one of the two Provinces, includes more than 30 ethnic groups. Under the constitution, the different ethnic groups have a right to be heard and replied to in their own language.

in cases where a worker is deprived of information or receives false or incomplete information. The lines of accountability go outward as well: workers in their associations or self-managing communities of interest are obliged to inform the public about their work or interest.

All these arrangements apply to the information media: those working in them through the basic organizations of associated labour have a share in the decisions at each level. But information media and broadcasting in particular are designated areas of special public interest. Basic Principle VIII of the Constitution not only lays down that 'the working people and citizens are kept informed' but also insists on 'their influence on the social system of information and the realization of the role of the press and other media of the public information and communication'.

The first impetus towards local radio began during the Second World War, initiated by partisans in the liberated territories, organizing resistance and propaganda for the cause of liberation. By 1959, there were 13 stations, by 1964, 38. In 1965, the law relating to broadcasting was changed to allow socio-political organizations and committees, enterprises and self-managing organizations to set up stations; as a result, a great many stations were set up in the next 8 years, the total reaching 187.

There are today 198 local stations. Their number in each republic varies; only Montenegro has none. Additionally, there are a large number of radio stations based on specific interests, such as ethnic minorities, cultural centres, workers' universities and students.

It is estimated that there are 500 communes in the country and that eventually the number of local stations will rise to about 300, the limit imposed by the availability of medium wave and VHF.

The local radio stations vary considerably in their hours of transmission from a few hours per week on certain days of the week, usually on weekday afternoons, and longer periods at week-ends, to those which offer a day long service. The smaller local stations commonly transmit the programmes of the main station when not originating their own material. There is a good deal of programme sharing between local stations. Overall, two thirds of local programming is music, and a third, speech.

Finance comes from various sources--citizens' contributions, which are expected but not legally enforceable and vary from province to province, averaging about 18 dinars a month (US $1.00); from financial and technical assistance from the main station, and from advertising which is providing a reducing proportion of total income (about 20 per cent).

Belgium

A free radio 'explosion' occurred in the French-speaking part of Belgium in 1978 and 1979 and the stations continue at the present. At first the police and PTT attempted to repress the movement, but by the end of 1978 the authorities seemed prepared to tolerate the illegality, while the Ministry of Culture's Commission de l'Audio-visuel discussed proposals for the future regulation of a sector of independent local radio.

A survey carried out for the Ministry's audio-visual service in the first few months of 1980 reported on 33 free radio stations in Wallonia and the Brussels area (out of some 80 thought to be operating at the time).[1] The stations of the first year were set up by informal militant groups contesting local issues connected with the environment--for example opposition to a dam, or anti-nuclear campaigns--and one, Radio Sidérurgie, organized by the steelworkers' union. Matters came to a head with a confrontation between police and students of Louvain University who opposed the seizure of the equipment belonging to their radio station. After the authorities' change of policy in favour of toleration, more stations sprang up, and these began to include stations playing music and operated by people for whom either the equipment or performing as a broadcasting DJ was a hobby. There began also to be heard stations whose declared purpose was socio-cultural animation.

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1. 'Les radios locales indépendantes dans la communauté française de Belgique,' Dossiers Pointillés, 1980.

During 1979 the operations of these stations became more formalized. Following the example of the similarly-named French organization, the Association pour la Libération des Ondes - Belgique, was set up. Individual initiatives gave way to groups which sought funding from political parties, trade unions and universities and constituted themselves in legal form as 'non-profit associations'; broadcasting schedules became more regular; the sharing of tasks within stations began to be more structured.

The smaller stations, with low-power coverage of a district, tended to have aims such as 'putting the different sections of the community in touch with each other.' They ran training workshops and encouraged the participation of members of the community. Participation in larger, city-wide stations tended to be less direct, confined to phone-ins.

Finance, in addition to the sources already mentioned, comes from listener-subscription, fund-raising and benefits. The Ministry researchers found that few stations have a precise definition of their goals; most saw their role in relation to official broadcasting as either complementary or alternative. It remains to be seen how exactly the government will control this sector of broadcasting; during 1981, legislation was passed legalizing the 'free radios'.

Ireland

Ireland, an island 480 km long and 240 km wide, has a population of just over 3 million. Over half this number live in the country in towns and villages of under 1,500 inhabitants. Fishing and agriculture, tourism, sugar and steel production are its main industries, but the country is the poorest in the European Economic Community, and has yet to recover totally from the economic effects of a long period of domination by the United Kingdom which for most of Ireland ended, politically, in 1923.

Irish broadcasting is provided by Radio Televis Eireann (RTE), a state broadcasting authority answerable to the Minister of Posts and Telegraphs and financed in roughly equal proportions by licence revenue and advertising. Television is broadcast on two channels in colour (the second service began in 1978), and radio on FM and VHF on two channels, one English and one Irish language service. In a large area of the country, British broadcasting can be received and attracts numerous viewers and listeners, a competition not dissimilar to that experienced by Canada in relation to the USA, and seen by many as a threat to Irish culture.

RTE's mobile radio unit is partly a means to counter this attraction and also a recognition of the need for local expression in a largely rural population. It is significant that the BBC has borrowed and imitated this service.

RTE launched its mobile radio operation in 1975. The purpose-built mobile studio-and-transmitter unit visited 18 locations in 1977-1978, broadcasting a total of 419 hours, usually 22 hours in each location. Transmission times are usually 11.30-13.30 and 16.30-18.30 Monday to Friday. In choosing centres to be visited, RTE aims at serving both rural and urban communities. Depopulated inner city neighbourhoods as well as remote country towns are selected as potentially able to benefit from a week of local broadcasting. RTE confines its involvement to the provision of broadcasting facilities and technical staff. A senior producer is assigned to manage the studio and advise the participants. He or she does not make programming decisions; this is the responsibility of a committee elected at a public meeting called usually some three months before the scheduled date of transmissions. Often the visit is timed to coincide with a festival or major local event for which a local committee will already have been formed.

In one town, Roscrea, in County Tipperary, the Junior Chamber of Commerce organized a week's broadcasting. Five programme categories were decided on: voluntary organizations, sport, local history, personalities and the arts. Preliminary planning included contacting all the town's organizations and printing posters. Eleven presenters from varied occupations (clerks, shopkeepers, a policeman, a porter, a technician, a teacher, a chemist and a student) were chosen as presenters and 165 people were involved in contributions during the week. The unit was sited prominently in the middle of the town and attracted a continuous stream of spectators. A typical two-hour magazine programme included extracts of music with dedications requested by listeners, interviews with local personalities--a priest, an entertainer, a sports editor, discussion of local problems and events comment on Council policy, on the future of

the community newspaper and quizzes on local people and history. In other programmes, local musicians and entertainers performed.

Britain

Three quarters of Britain's 56 m population live in towns and cities. In recent years rising unemployment, inflation and cuts in public services have led to tensions in the urban population and a growth of organized neo-fascist activity directed against the black immigrant population (3.6 per cent of the total) which is concentrated in cities and towns.

Parliamentary representation does not include fascist or far left (or communist) members, and this consensus is reflected in the 'balance' and 'impartiality' required of the broadcast media. The ownership of the national and regional press is entirely commercial and the editorial position of most papers is right of centre.

Community media can be seen, then, as a reaction to this exclusion, providing a vehicle for the expression of local culture, ethnic identity, working-class interests, women's experience and the non-metropolitan point of view.

The British media environment is at first sight less hostile to the development of participatory forms of communication. The existence of a public service broadcasting organization in the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and the relatively close control exercised by the IBA (the regulatory authority for commercial broadcasting) over its stations have allowed the broadcasters to appropriate the word 'community' to describe their own local radio operations and television access programmes. The newly created fourth TV channel, under the control of the IBA and financed by advertising, is intended to encourage innovation and has attracted the attention of many independent film makers and some video producers.

But in general, broadcasting in recent years has been criticized by a growing number of groups and sections of society. These include women, ethnic groups, students, nationalist parties and trade-unionists, the last being particularly incensed at media treatment of industrial disputes in the winter of 1978-1979.

The opportunities offered by the BBC's Community Programme Unit in programmes like Open Door, Grapevine and Something Else, while admirable in themselves, are negated by ghetto scheduling and have little effect on the practice of the news and current affairs teams which are the main cause for criticism.

These criticisms have been borne out by sociological studies which have analysed the selectivity of news coverage of industrial affairs and reported practices and attitudes of broadcasting professionals restricted by class outlooks, institutional pressures and technical constraints.

BBC Local Radio

The repeated claims of the broadcasting organizations to be providing 'community radio' in their local radio systems makes it necessary to examine their justification.

The BBC's 20 local stations, which reach approximately 70 per cent of the population, range in size from London's 12 m to 1/2 m in the smaller areas.

The stations are non-profit in character but their autonomy is debatable. Budgets are allocated from the centre, some services being centrally provided (legal, accounting, personnel). Cuts, too, are ordered from the centre as the recent crisis in BBC finance has shown. Within these limits, the station managers have a free hand, but their attitudes and practice, and those of their staff, are restricted by the professional norms of journalism (the majority of staff are drawn from local journalism) and by the special outlook shared by the staff of the BBC as an institution (Burns 1977). These attitudes are least strong among local radio staff, it is true, but it is also true that career prospects within the BBC induce a strong centripetal tendency in the local stations.

'Local' is a relative term and one much abused in British local radio. A 12 m potential audience is larger than that of many national stations, and it is in the big cities that BBC local radio is least credible as a representative of 'the community'.

Non-professional contributors are involved to a limited extent in programming, usually as representatives of established groups. In terms of Jouët's criteria, access is mediated through professionals, and participation takes the form of advice given by a few select local worthies which is not subject to accountability, except, to use the memorable phrase of a BBC Public Relations Officer, that it is 'passed inwards and upwards'.

More hopeful are the BBC's much smaller-scale stations. Borrowing ideas and in some cases equipment from Radio Telefis Eireann, BBC Radio Wales has tried out small-town broadcasting for periods from a week to three months.

In Scotland, opt-outs are in a permanent operation in fixed locations for half an hour or so a day in Orkney, Shetland and the Western Isles.

These smaller operations allow a greater proportion of programming to be produced by non-professional volunteers, in a relationship which is the natural consequence of being remote from the head offices of management and unions.

Commercial Local Radio (ILR)

If the BBC is found wanting, it may seem surprising to suggest that more hope lies within the commercial sector of the duopoly. It certainly is not to be found in the mainstream conventional ILR stations. Even more dismissive treatment of access groups has been reported from two London ILR stations that were received from the local BBC.

What is of more interest in the ILR system derives from a section of a recent government report (the Annan Report 1977) suggesting the value of different types of ownership for local radio, including non-profit trusts. The IBA has granted a franchise in Cardiff to a group backed by a number of community organizations in the city. Half the Board of Directors for this station represent the conventional sources of finance; the other half are the elected representatives of a Trust in which a wide range of organizations have come together with some radical programming ideas. Whether these will survive the pressure from advertisers which is already being felt in a station wholly dependent on revenue from that source remains to be seen.

Other franchise bids have imitated and adapted Cardiff's ideas. The hope is that the expansion of ILR will provide genuine opportunities for community control, i.e. self-management in the true sense. But the signs are not encouraging. Profit is of the essence in the ILR system. Since the IBA uses the profits above a certain level to finance new developments (for example, stations in unprofitable rural areas), it cannot be expected to grant 'non-profit franchises' in many of its potentially richest areas.

Outside the 'duopoly'

The broadcasting organizations, then, in the view of certain radical groups and community activists, mostly cannot or will not provide genuine community radio. Outside the 'duopoly', activity divides broadly into three categories; licenced local services on cable, lobbying and radio workshops.

Licenced local services

These include hospital broadcasting systems which play music request programmes to patients on closed circuit networks within hospitals; university radio stations, whose transmissions use the 'inductive loop' system and are strictly confined to the campus. They are not educational and are run as a hobby by students for themselves. In six areas, cable radio services are carried on cable networks whose primary purpose is to relay broadcast TV to subscribers. These locally originated services are, like the previous two types mentioned above, licenced by the Home Office. Some are supported wholly by advertising.

Lobbying

The cable radio stations have formed the Association of Community Broadcasting Stations (ACBS) and both singly and collectively they have applied for licences to extend their reach beyond the limitations of cable by broadcasting on low-power. Some university radio stations

would also like to broadcast extra-murally and their organization, the National Association of Student Broadcasters, has joined in asking the Home Office to allow this.

The Community Communications Group (COMCOM) has been the longest in the lobbying field. This radical forum and pressure group has been formed in February 1977 out of elements which included those working in the cable TV stations. Its aims were not confined to broadcasting, but COMCOM had steadily argued the case for a separate sector of broadcasting in which community radio, on the lines of the types that exist in the USA, Canada and Australia could be allowed to operate. With other elements, COMCOM, NASB and the ACBS have launched a campaign to try to change the Home Office attitude.

Radio workshops

A number of groups operate with audio equipment and attempt to change things by seeking access on local radio for their tapes which they claim more genuinely reflect sections of the community not noticed by BBC or IBA. Local Radio Workshop in London and Radio Doom in Liverpool are the longest-running of these non-broadcast operations. More recently in London Inter-Action has used its community media van to train children in tape-recording and secured transmission of the best of the resulting work over BBC Radio London. The Islington Bus company. a multi-media community centre, has built a small recording studio with help from the London commercial station, Capital, and begun similar activities with young people. Women's Airwaves, with funds from the Equal Opportunities Commission, has recorded tapes about women's views and activities. In Southampton, through a University Extra-Mural class, a group of women were able to broadcast a series of programmes about working class women's condition on the local BBC station, Radio Solent.

5. Alternative press and publishing in Britain

The story of recent alternatives or community publishing ventures in the print medium must be followed along two paths: on the one hand, the local radical papers which link with the recently formed Campaign for Press Freedom; on the other, the history and writers' workshops which resulted in a number of separate publishing projects, recently associated in the Federation of Worker Writers and Community Publishers (FWWCP).

Radical papers have in common a desire to present an alternative to the trivializing and sensationalizing style of the local press; a mistrust of local power politics and an intention to demystify the journalistic print and production process. Most importantly, decisions are made collectively, jobs are shared or rotated, and there is usually no distinction between workers and readers in the decision-making process. Most of the work is undertaken by people working voluntarily, either in their spare time or as students or unemployed people.

Without exception these papers are non-profit distributing. Finance comes from initial fund-raising, sometimes from trusts or foundations, from central government (Urban Aid, or in job creation programmes under the Manpower Services Commission which might pay the wages of one or two workers) and very rarely, given the political stance of the radical press, from local councils. A system of founding subscribers has launched several papers. Sales recoup running costs and some advertising is also carried. One or two papers, distributed free of charge, are supported entirely by advertising. Distribution is effected by volunteers going from door to door or at meetings, and in some cases through newsagents.

A perpetual dilemma for most of these papers lies on the one hand in their determination to involve the participation of local people in writing and production and to avoid hierarchical structures of management; and on the other hand to meet deadlines and deliver effective material of a standard that will appeal to readers.

A new paper for London's East End, the East End News, is the latest concrete manifestation of discussions about radical newspapers that have been going on for some time. It is owned co-operatively and will encourage readers' committees and regular contributions from neighbourhood, estate and workplace correspondents. It is backed by the Campaign for Press Freedom which was formed in 1979 to :

'challenge the myth that only private ownership of the newspaper industry provides genuine freedom, diversity or access, and generate public debate on alternative forms of democratic ownership and control'

The Campaign intends to encourage the creation of alternative newspapers of all kinds and 'the development of industrial democracy in the newspaper, broadcasting and television industries.' (Free Press 1980)

Community writing and publishing activities too, have their origins in the deficiencies of national systems--of the education system which failed (and largely continues to fail) to offer to working-class pupils any reinforcement of their culture; of the book publishing industry which rests on high technology and mass demand, sustained by the rapid obsolescence of products; and of the retail bookshops.

Schools and adult education have been an important ingredient in this part of the alternative print movement. The efforts of teachers to find written material of a kind with which their students could make connection has been a factor in this movement.

The Workers' Educational Association and, more recently, the Adult Literacy Campaign have stimulated many local classes to produce their own material.

In the spring of 1976 the Federation of Writer Workers' and Community Publishers (FWWCP) was set up to co-ordinate and encourage the growing numbers of organizations publishing work written by working class people. In September 1979 there were 23 members with a full-time co-ordinator.

The Bookplace, Peckham (a case-study)

The Bookplace opened in Peckham in November 1977. Peckham is a solidly working-class area in South London, five miles from London Bridge. Once printing and the docks were the main sources of employment; these have now both disappeared; small firms, too, are closing down at a fast rate. The employment that remains is mostly in the service industry, transport, local government and a few factories and warehouses. Massive housing development has driven many of the older inhabitants into distant suburbs, many others into large blocks of council flats. There is a high proportion of black and coloured people and consequent racist and anti-racist tension.

Peckham is an important and thriving shopping centre for the area, but until the Bookplace opened there was not a single bookshop. Encouraged by the example of Centerprise, a successful community bookshop and publishing enterprise in Hackney, a group of people who lived and worked in Peckham got together with the idea for a shop and related activities to do with reading and writing. The group included a secondary-school teacher of English who had found in his teaching how few books were available to working-class children--and how fewer still were relevant to their lives. The project was to hinge around three key activities: the bookshop literacy centre and publishing project. The local council granted a nominal lease and a large number of volunteers helped clear and clean out the building, decorate and furnish it.

The hours, 10-7, favour people who have to work, and at lunchtime and after school the shop is crowded with school students who can look at books--and comics (second-hand, chosen by a schoolboy expert, and stocked as a matter of policy because they attract many young people who are later led on to look at and read books) in a relaxed atmosphere very different from school or public library.

'We feel that most children's books present a world which doesn't match reality. They often have a subject matter which is limited to a white middle-class lifestyle. The images presented of everyday life do not give children the chance to value their own culture, race or gender'.

These words come from the introduction to 'Good Books for Children' chosen by the staff of the Bookplace. The Bookplace is, however, a general bookshop and a wide range of titles is stocked, based on a policy that excludes sexist, racist, and classist writing. The bookshop has done extraordinarily well, grossing over £6,000 in sales in 1980.

The atmosphere encourages conversation and the bookshop is the focus for many enquiries about education and literacy classes. Many of these enquiries are referred elsewhere, but 120 students were provided for in 1980 and this work takes place in an equally pleasant room upstairs. It is of two kinds: English as a second language, and literacy classes. Numeracy classes have also been started, and all of these are available during the day as well as in the evening. Much of the work is covered by salaries paid by the local Adult Education Institute with whom the Bookplace works in close co-operation. Attached to this part of the project is a Children's Reading Club and a Teenager's Group.

The students' written work in the literacy classes is one source upon which the Publishing Project can draw. Another is the Writers Group which has produced two collections of poetry and plans a collection of short stories. Yet another potential source is the People's History Group, an informal WEA 'course' whose convenor is a staff member of the Bookplace. A considerable amount of tape-recording has been done of people's memories in this History Group.

People were not slow in coming in with manuscripts after the Bookplace opened--poems, short stories, life stories and reminicenses were produced. The policy too is that any group should be encouraged to use the Bookplace as a publisher.

The students of the Literacy Centre combined with those of another (Kennington) to produce 'Milk River'

> 'written by people who come from Jamaica and St. Lucia. These are some good and bad memories of our childhood. We've written about things that happened at home, food we cook and stories we tell. We thought it would be a good idea to put them together in a book, so that we can share them with you.'

'Milk River' sold out its first run of 1,000 copies, and a second has been reprinted. Not only do books like these offer a reflection to local people of themselves; they are valuable course material for other literacy projects. The editing and pasting-up of 'Milk River' was done in class by the students, making the process of publishing more accessible and tangible to all, and offering roles also to those whose written work was not selected.

A Women's Group has been formed and its application to the Equal Opportunities Commission for a grant described the development of the group as follows:

> 'The women, who are members of the classes and groups who meet at the Bookplace, have been writing about their experiences and their views on marriage, housing, work and children ... we think that (the writing) forms the basis for an anthology which reflects not only the problems working class women face but their belief in the possibility of change in the future. Most of the pieces are short and written simply and would relate closely to the experience of other women students in literacy classes. There is a great lack of published reading material for adult students with reading difficulties, particularly anything that will generate discussion of issues such as child care, and equal opportunities.'

The grant was successful and the EOC has made £900 available for a 40-page anthology of women's writing, illustrated with photographs and cartoons.

If publications make a profit, the money goes to future work. No royalties are paid to individual authors. The Bookplace believes it cannot accept grants for publishing ventures, and then let money go outside the project.

> 'We don't want people whose work we publish to become isolated from the community ... People have a false idea about what publishing means, that they become someone else, famous, through the money. We are more interested in showing the amount of talent there is in this area of London and how easy it is to get published.'

The Bookplace staff work collectively. Six-full-timers and one part-timer meet weekly to discuss policy and day to day administration. The major decisions are, however, made by the Management Committee which is elected annually at a public meeting. It is this Committee which appoints the staff. But much of the operational decision-making as it affects the three

main projects is devolved to the Groups--the Bookshop Group of users, the Publishing Group of interested people, the Education Group of tutors and students. The idea is to shift responsibility on to the users from the staff and in so doing to educate users in democratic procedures.

The present sources of finance include the Commission for Racial Equality (salary of one worker), various trusts and foundations, the Adult Literacy Resource Agency, the Arts Council (Literature Panel), Manpower Services Commission, Urban Aid and the income from book sales. The total budget is currently £35,000.

The Bookplace gives every evidence of being extraordinarily successful. Its component parts reinforce and supply each other with ideas, resources, and clients, the bookshop itself being the focal point for referral within and outside the system. By its presence it provides a focus and an outlet for local culture which is a defiant refutation of the commercial judgements which have utterly neglected the area.

6. Post-script

This brief survey of media in Europe has emphasized certain media, such as radio, which are potentially useful in Third World contexts, and paid less attention to more sophisticated technologies such as film and video, which in any case are well documented elsewhere. Lack of space has prevented discussion of other media, such as music and theatre, which are becoming increasingly popular at a community level as financial or political pressure reduces the scope for use, of the more expensive media. It is noticeable also that the rapidly growing European-wide communities of interest such as the ecological and anti-nuclear movements have made their impact on 'new wave' and rock composers and in turn have been able to use relevant material in their campaigns. But these more traditional arts are well developed in Third World countries and are mentioned in other chapters here.

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Chapter 7

INDIA

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		Pages
1.	Introduction	111
2.	Traditional media	112
3.	Street plays and Catalyst theatre	115
	Case Study: Jagran	119
4.	Group media	122
	Case study: Chitrabani	123
5.	Radio and television	127
	Case Study: Zoona Daab	131
6.	Print	135
7.	Conclusions	136
8.	References	137

1. Introduction

According to the last census in 1971, the population of India was over 548 million of which 284 million were male and 264 million were female. Only about 20 per cent of the Indian population live in urban areas, yet in absolute terms it is over one hundred million people. The rate of growth of the urban population has been twice that of the rural population, much of it through rural--urban migration.

Urbanization is unevenly dispersed and huge numbers of people are concentrated in 'primate cities'. Again urbanization lags far behind industrialization. The majority of migrants thus find work in the informal sector.

Migrants to urban areas often leave their families behind. This is reflected in the higher male to female urban sex ratio. Many migrants return to their villages during the peak harvesting time. Their stay in the town or city is often thought of as a transient measure to make enough money to acquire rural assets. Even if this does not actually happen, it works against the growth of strong roots in the urban environment.

The Indian census authorities have defined urban areas as places with (1) a minimum population of 5,000 (2) at least 75 per cent of male working population in non-agricultural occupations, and (3) a density of population of at least 400 people per square kilometre.

In 1971 65.92 per cent of the adult population was illiterate. In urban areas the illiteracy rate was 39.64 per cent. Primary and secondary enrolment as a percentage of the population aged 5-19 in 1970 was 41.1 per cent. Literacy and educational levels are considerably lower for women than for men.

Mass media consumption is higher in urban areas than in rural areas and strongly correlated with income levels. Broadcasting is a state monopoly. Both radio and television are attached to the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. Almost half of the daily newspaper circulation is metropolitan. Indian newsprint is allocated by the government and official advertising constitutes a substantial source of revenue. These are persuasive regulatory mechanisms. In 1975, during the period of internal emergency, the Prevention of Publication of Objectionable Matter Act resulted in complete press censorship. The Act was repealed following the change in government in 1977.

India has nominally a federal, democratic structure. Since Independence there has been an increasing trend towards centralization and erosion of the rights of the states. Within states, again, the powers of urban local government are severely limited. While their jurisdiction varies from area to area, it usually does not extend beyond looking after sanitation, water supply and public roads. These local governments may also be entitled to administer licences and regulations in certain trading and professional sectors. Whatever their individual limits, however, all actions of municipal governments are subject to supervision and possible reversal by state authorities. Effective powers are maintained by a civil servant named by the state.

The all India per capita income in 1975-76 was Rs.1,005 at current prices.[1] This figure conceals more than it reveals. Dandekar and Rath have analysed the growth of real income from 1960-1961 and 1968-1969. According to them 'The per capita urban consumption in 1960 was Rs. 359.2 per annum, nearly two thirds (more than 64.51 per cent) of the urban population lived below this average,[2] and nearly half the urban population lived on diets inadequate even in respect of calories'.

'While the character of rural poverty has remained the same as before, the character of urban poverty has deepened further. This is the consequence of the continuous migration of the rural poor into the urban areas in search of livelihood, their failure to find adequate means to support themselves there, and the resulting growth of roadside slum life in the cities.'[3]

David Selbourne comments on conditions in India's largest urban areas:

'Of Bombay's population of about eight million, 1.1 million live in 262,000 huts, 200,000 live on the footpaths while 77 per cent of Bombay's citizens live in one room tenements. Of Calcutta's roughly estimated nine million, a third are said to live in its bustees and shanties and an incalculable and growing number on its pavements; in Delhi's slums from 500,000 to over 700,000 of its four to five million, in Agra, city of the Taj Mahal, 46 per cent of its population'.[4]

At these levels of subsistence the concern with basic survival outweighs the concern for self-expression and self-fulfilment in urban areas. Living conditions again are not conducive to the growth of individual and group initiative.

India is a highly complex society. Its 640 million people are stratified by 90 distinct ethnolinguistic regions, 17 official languages, 208 recognized dialects, six major religions and over 3,000 distinct caste groups. The 1961 census enumerated a total of 1,652 mother tongues.

Much has been written about oriental fatalism. The doctrine of Karma (transmigration) proclaims that the Hindu is born into a particular caste because of his deeds in a previous life and the dharma demands that he should accept 'his conditions without protest, performing as well as possible the functions appropriate to it.'[5] While these traditional values are being eroded, particularly in urban areas, they do tend to curb individual or group initiative.

Community media in urban India

In contrast to other recent definitions, this paper takes a narrow view of community media. The emphasis is on the function rather than the nature of media. Urban community media are media which support community initiatives in urban settings or media which are used to help resolve tensions and problems in urban areas. Uses of media purely as entertainment or personal expression or as means of reinforcing traditional beliefs are not considered.

We believe that community media should lead to people's obtaining greater control over their lives. Media which create community dependence on external technical assistance or finance are counterproductive. The choice of media must be appropriate to local resources and skills and to the activities undertaken. While Western literature on community media has concentrated on technological media be they television or newsletters, in the Indian context media like plays, songs and processions have greater potential for conviviality and carry the least danger of external manipulation. Elite media like imported video films circulated among the very wealthy are totally ignored in this paper. Given the nature of urbanization in India, it is more meaningful to discuss community media in urban areas rather than urban community media. The approaches and techniques discussed would be equally valid in rural settings.

One of the characteristics of developing societies is the lack of adequate information. Much of the activity discussed in this paper is inadequately documented. Consequently, we rely heavily on existing English language documents, on interviews and conversations; hence the paucity of hard data in many areas. The choice of case studies was also determined by the availability of supporting data.

The paper is divided into six sections dealing with traditional media, street plays and catalyst theatre, group media, radio and television, and print, and conclusions. Three case studies on street plays, group media and radio are presented in their respective sections.

2. Traditional media

Traditional media are potentially the most effective tools for community media work in India, be it at the urban or at the rural level. While there are no contemporary examples of urban community activities based on traditional media, the emotive appeals of traditional folk theatre, puppetry, oral narrative-cum-musical forms, fairs and festivals, are strong enough to warrant their inclusion in this study.

H.K. Ranganath of Bangalore University refers to three categories of traditional performing arts in modern applications--ritual, traditional and functional. Of these, the ritual category is the least flexible, encompassing as it does tribal dance and religious acts which are 'rigid' and reject the new message as a 'foreign body'. More pliable is the traditional category, drawing

from the classics and ancient lore, which contains flexible characters like the jester and narrator-manager 'to absorb and reflect new messages despite the rigid story frame'. Functional songs, acts and narration, finally, are ideally suited for modern application and have been used for development messages.[1]

Song and dance

Folk music has proved to be an effective vehicle for modern content, as evidenced below.

The Song and Drama Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting alone uses hundreds of traditional media groups each to deliver development messages. In a single year, 1973, it hired 361 private troupes of folk entertainers for 71,673 development-oriented performances.[2] These are one-way messages, however, centrally derived and predominantely directed towards the rural areas.

Another rural example, this time involving public participation, is the use of folk songs by the Chipko ('hug a tree') movement of Uttarakhand. Adapted folk songs have successfully inspired strong protest in hill communities against the felling of trees in their delicately balanced forest environment. Both children and women play a key role in the chain of communication. Having learnt the Chipko songs at school, children influence their mothers, who in turn mount pressure on their husbands and on the government, the former at home, the latter through demonstrations.

Puppetry

Even puppets play an important role in spreading development messages throughout India today. Literacy House in Lucknow, to name but one, trains puppeteer squads who carry specific messages to remote villages.[3]

The festival

India is famous throughout the world for its colourful religious festivals, some of which, over the years, have taken on temporary or permanent political and social significance. The 'Flower Sellers' Festival' of Delhi (Phool Walon Ki Sair) for example, has signified Hindu - Muslim friendship since 1962 when Jawaharlal Nehru used the occasion to place the traditional fans of woven flowers both at the Hindu shrine of Yog Maya and at the Muslim tomb of Qutubuddin Bhaktiyar Kaki.[4]

Similarly, the worship of the elephant-headed god Ganesh was used during the independence struggle to reach Hindus of all classes and castes and to give the 'necessary religious touch to the movement for national independence'.[5]

Theatre

Theatre falls into two categories. There is traditional theatre which deal strictly with traditional themes, religious or legendary; and there is folk theatre which allows some flexibility for modern application--as shown in the examples of Marathi Tamasha and the Yatra of Bengal.

The Yatra is said to be about 1,000 years old. Its development has included different stages, elements of which are retained to this day, among them the adoption of tragedy from imported Shakespearean dramas, the use of dance, dialogue and prose. Common to all forms was the symbolic portrayal of good vanquishing evil.

A special category of Yatra, known as Swadeshi Yatra grew out of the Indian nationalistic movement in Bengal. So extensive was its anti-British theme, that the Yatra was temporarily banned by the British,[6] who became 'the new fixed Evil' while the Indian revolutionary was portrayed as a 'rigid Good'.[7]

Another form, called Social Yatra evolved under the influence of Mahatma Gandhi, to depict the life of the 'common man'.

Having begun its transformation from religious to secular themes in the 19th century, the Yatra's themes now are often political and educational rather than historical. Its form has re-

tained the flexible outdoor setting; with minimum props, and comic relief in the form of clowns. The works of the Indian People's Theatre Association (IPTA) over the years provides many examples of traditional media forms being put to modern use in India. It also includes some of the earliest examples of urban community media in India. The following quotation, for example, describes urban community media work done in 1945 by Anna Sathe, a famous composer of Tamasha, one of which portrayed:

> 'the life of the workers dwelling in urban area. These shows were given at industrial centres such as Dhulia, Amalner and Jalgaon. The audience varied from two to five thousand. In Dhulia the Tamasha was appreciated very greatly as it was written in connection with the conditions in that very place. The workers' grievances, the high-handedness of the manager, the victimization of innocent workers by the managing director, these were all exposed in such a manner that the workers were greatly moved by the work done by the IPTA on their behalf and they congratulated Anna Sathe on his composition'.[8]

Tamasha and Yatra are but two of 78 distinct folk theatre forms in India,[9] each with its own historical and regional variations, and its own emotional appeal to specific segments of society.

Summary

Traditional media, potentially the most effective tools for urban community work in India, are indigenous, therefore easily replicated. Requiring few props, they remain mobile and widely accessible. They utilize local materials, appropriate to local incomes, thereby avoiding dependency on external sources either for funding or for expertise. Emotionally familiar to the illiterate millions, they can arouse feeling untouched by foreign media and their utilization of local talent and domestic expertise instills confidence. More specifically, in terms of urban community media, they have a high potential for supporting community initiatives or helping to resolve tensions and problems. While this potential has yet to be tapped on a large scale, the foregoing examples show aptitude for modern application.

If access is measured in terms of choice and feedback[10] then small troupes of traditional entertainers are more easily accessible to communities than are media organized through national networks (for example, Indian radio and television) or media dependent on electronic hardware and expertise.

Participation at the production level presupposes unrestricted opportunities for the public to produce programmes and to have access to professional help, to technical facilities and to production resources. One advantage of traditional over technological media is immediately apparent; other than the need for professional performers there are no technical or production requirements to block the path of community participants. Only the ritual and to some extent the traditional category of folk media persistently require professional expertise. Functional folk media may be used by amateurs. Both decision and planning at the traditional level bear no relation to decision-making and planning of mass or even group media in terms of complexity. There are none of the technological and far fewer administrative structures to contend with. One exception is large-scale traditional activity such as that of professional Yatra troupes in West Bengal.

Self-management, the third of Jouët's criteria of participation, again favours traditional over technological media. While traditional media historically functioned with minimal overheads, today there is an increasing expenditure spiral arising from competition between traditional and modern forms of entertainment. West Bengal's traditional theatre form, Yatra, for example, is said to have become 'a very strong commercial establishment.'[11] There are at least 'forty professional, expensive Yatra companies with highly paid artists, script-writers, and directors[12].

While such large groups may face management problems more complicated than those attending small video teams, they still have the cutting edge in that they need not seek employees with skills in a technology alien to their own traditional culture.

The funding of traditional artists takes many forms. Groups often pass the hat, or charge a fee. Some are employed by the Ministry of Information to perform over radio and television. Others work on contract on festive occasions.

That traditional media groups, often composed of illiterate individuals, have organized themselves at the grass roots level for centuries, speaks for itself. Increasing size and expense, however, demand concurrently better organizational skills wherever these groups are competing with other forms of entertainment.

3. Street plays and catalyst theatre

The term 'street play' or 'catalyst theatre' are used loosely to denote plays with a social conscience and elements of participation. These may be held in small auditoriums. They may equally take place on the street.

Badal Sircar, a famous Calcutta playwright and producer, has inspired almost all such activity in India. He broke away from Calcutta's major theatre scene in the sixties to evolve what he called the 'Third Theatre'-- a synthesis of Indian folk media ('First Theatre') and Western theatre ('Second Theatre'). These forms emphasized theatre first, social content second, if at all. Recent evolutions, especially in the street-play category, stress the social message more than the dramatic form. Sircar's theatre workshops throughout India also emphasize the importance of 'physicalization' or body language to avoid a heavy verbal accentuation in India's multi-lingual context.

This section will look briefly at examples of street plays or catalyst theatre in urban communities around India. Each example is chosen to represent a different approach to urban community media work, elements of participation being the only common links. Sircar's work in Calcutta will provide an introduction, given his own strong influence on all such activities throughout India.

West Bengal

Sircar's theatre today is intimate in form and displays a strong social conscience. Its only regular venue is a lecture hall where his group plays to an audience of about 100 people once a week. Otherwise, the group goes out to universities, colleges and other associations prepared to sponsor its performances.

A civil engineer and urban planner by profession, Sircar is also involved with an agency called Community Area Development (CAD) which tries to solve immediate ecological constraints in the lives of people, as well as look for general improvements in their living conditions. He uses theatre as his tool. The geographical focus of his work is two-fold--Calcutta and the Sundarbans. The former is India's most densely populous urban area, the latter is a marshland area near the coast.

Sircar first went to a village in the Sundarbans as part of his CADS work. Conversations with people revealed that 70 to 80 East Bengal refugees had originally settled in the harsh swamp environment, where they faced extremely difficult agricultural conditions. Even today, the coastal salt water continues to encroach on the farmland, man-eating tigers still roam the forests, and alligators infest the creeks. Many refugees lost their lives, but the survivors gradually managed to reclaim cultivable land. Then more people arrived, some of them with money. The villagers began taking loans from them, and gradually lost all their land to money lenders. Landless again, they are now trying once more to reclaim new land.

Sircar found that the people themselves knew their own story only in a fragmentary form. In his first play, therefore, he presented the villagers' story as a kind of legal case. He stayed in the village for about a fortnight collecting material, came back to Calcutta and worked out a script with the non-professional members of his theatre group. They then returned to the village to stage the play. Instant feedback from the villagers provided necessary corrections. The same play was then staged, not only in similar villages, but also in Calcutta. There, the play had another dimension, according to theatre enthusiast and critic Samik Banejee. 'For us, the urban audience (upper-class, established, affluent) it was an attack on us, an attack on our indifference. Sircar tried to bring out in his play the point that we were more agitated over whether the second stadium would be built, or whether the transportation system would be improved, and showed that we were absolutely indifferent and ignorant about what was happening there in the village only three to four hours away from Calcutta.'[1]

Sircar produced a series of these plays. 'I think they have had an effect on two levels, for two audiences,' Banerjee said. 'They have crystallized things in the village and they have given the urban audience something to think about ... There were parts of the play which attacked the urban audience. At the same time, these parts were useful in the village. Sircar wanted the villagers to know, this is what I am doing in the city.'

While Sircar has aroused some urban awareness of the Sunderbans problem, he has not convinced the urban audience to respond actively to the issue. One of his original ideas--to generate enough interest in the urban audience to sponsor similar work in other villages--did not materialize. However, the formation of a second theatre group at the village level evidenced Sircar's influence there.

A number of young theatre groups also sprung up in Calcutta's industrial belt along the Hooghly river in the course of 1979. They use Sircar's intimate theatre with small audiences and a regular venue, flexible enough to go anywhere. One such group called Living Theatre has formed in Khardah, a small industrial town 40 kilometres from Calcutta. Seven of its fourteen members are employed--four or five of them in Calcutta. The rest are self-employed. One of the latter is a tailor, and two others give private tuition. None of them is well paid.

The group has grown out of the town centred around a large railway station. It uses a school hall for its theatre, practises every evening and performs on Saturday evenings to an audience of about 40 people sitting on backless benches. Most of the audience is at the level where blue-collar workers become white-collar workers, usually non-political, and willing to pay between 50 paisa and one rupee for the show. Tickets are not checked.

'There is never a strong script,' says Banerjee. 'Of the three plays I have seen, one was most interesting in the sense that it had an immediate, participatory rapport. About 70 per cent of the people have to commute to Calcutta for work. About a third of the residents stay in town. Commuting is done by suburban trains, a regular feature in the lives of Khardah residents. The play was built around this experience. The setting was the train from Khardah to Calcutta. The actors talked in the carriage, the train stopped, people walked in. As they talked, local problems cropped up. They broke off to discuss the problems, completed the circuit, and the train went on. Therefore, the setting was very familiar, the conversations could pass from national politics to local disputes. Everything could come into it.'

The actors are very conscious of their own audience. They have more or less resolved never to perform in Calcutta. They fear that they would have to change their content to satisfy the Calcutta audiences. But they do perform in other industrial towns and are also trying to generate similar theatre activity in other urban areas. Very slowly, this is growing into a movement.

From the beginning of November to mid-December, 1979, for example, about eight Bengali groups formed a loose federation of street-theatre activists. They performed every Sunday evening. Their stage was the packed-earth playing ground of a refugee colony in the heart of Calcutta--a sprawling area with small industries, two university campuses, the inevitable pavement vendors and street dwellers, as well as the above-mentioned refugee colony.

'A major problem faced by participatory theatre groups is the problem of language. The Bengali I speak is not spoken even 29 kilometres outside the city' said Banerjee. 'Since the theatre for so long has depended on words, if you do take it to places outside the city, people wonder at the stands, the lights, and the language. It is so verbalized that with its city language, it never communicates a message.' The new theatre groups depend more on physicalization (physical actions) and use very short texts, almost slogans, which are repeated again and again. Therefore, in a one-hour performance, the group does not impose too much, too long. Even if the sentences used are somewhat strange to the audience at first, they can be made meaningful by repetition and physicalization. Broadsheets are handed out before performances to help to familiarize the audience with the new form of theatre.

Another activity which is just beginning to revive in Calcutta is the Saturday afternoon theatre addressing itself to urban issues. It used to be held regularly until 1975, when police attacked the performers, killing one regular spectator outright. It was revived by Sircar after the

Emergency and performed irregularly until December, 1979, when it became once more a regular feature.

Karnataka

The Samudaya Theatre Organization of Bangalore has adopted Sircar's principle of the 'Third Theatre'. The content of its plays invariably reflects social issues affecting its audience.

Following a Sircar workshop, for example, two members of the Samudaya Theatre Organization became involved with striking employees of a Metal Cap Factory in Bangalore. They organized members of the striking labour force into drama groups and gave them theatrical help in expressing their problems. The resulting play was performed by labourers in several communities. An early end to the strike has been attributed by some to empathy created by the drama.

Another Samudays Theatre Organization member has formed similar drama groups in the Vinobnager and Sidartar slums of Bangalore. Slum residents are shown how to express themselves with the help of Sircar's theatre exercises. They create their own script to portray issues considered important to their community. For example, one group produced a drama on alcoholism which contained the following underlying messages: 'Drinking is not our problem. We are drinking because we have another problem. Drinking will not solve our other problem. Let us stop drinking and concentrate instead on solving our problem'. In December, 1979 100 students and lecturers belonging to Samudaya cycled 1400 km to perform plays in four or five villages each day for a month. Their themes were mainly political and included portrayals of the atrocities committed on untouchables.

Maharashtra

One commercial play which has been used very effectively in Maharashtra is Lok Katha (People's Epic) written by the well-known Marathi playwright, Ratnakar Matkari. It portrays efforts of a wounded ex-serviceman in rallying fellow untouchables to stand up for their rights against local caste Hindus. Having taken the spectators through a harrowing tale which finishes on an unjust note, the narrator asks the audience whether this constitutes justice and who will help his group to obtain justice. 'With no response from the audience he then tells his group that there is nothing more which can be done and leads them off the stage'. [2]

'It is more effective than a hundred speeches,' said one member of the audience, a social worker by profession. So effective was the play, in fact, that several social workers agreed not only to organize a tour of rural Maharashtra, but also to finance it.

The point of the tour was to test audience reaction, both during the shows and in the discussions following them. Rural reaction far surpassed urban reaction. As one performer said, 'After having performed in these villages in front of audiences whose responses are so live, participation so real, it would be rather difficult for us to go back again and face the cold faced urban audiences in the air-conditioned theatres of Bombay and Poona'.

Of greatest satisfaction to the tour organizers was the 'very strong feeling ... generated amongst the village "kalakara" or dramatists about the use of this medium for social justice issues'.

Delhi

Stree Sanghursh, a Delhi-based women's group formed in March, 1979, has begun to use drama for its campaign against dowry deaths. In Delhi alone, 250 women die each year because of dowry-related problems.

The dowry system began in the days when girls had no inheritance rights, and parents gave them clothes, jewelry and other useful articles on their wedding day. Today, dowry involves the transfer of wealth from one household to the other. It is a business transaction which seldom benefits the young couple concerned. Disgruntled in-laws may demand ever-increasing payments. If thwarted, they either murder the girl or drive her to suicide. All too often the police and courts are bribed and the legal case forgotten.

About 25 men and women belonging to Stree Sanghursh act in the anti-dowry street play. It is a stark, symbolic presentation of one bride's death, and another bride's last-minute rescue by neighbours, with some comic relief in the form of humorous criticisms of the dowry system.

The play is performed in colleges and in localities where a dowry death has occurred. Actors use no props. They range in age from 19 to 55 years of age. Some of them are teachers, others students, housewives, or social workers. After each performance, they draw members of the audience into the acting circle for further discussion, and hand out leaflets describing their work.

While it is too early to gauge the group's effectiveness, Stree Sanghursh has successfully initiated committees to take preventive action or to urge witnesses to testify in court.

Jana Natya Manch is a Delhi equivalent of West Bengal's Living Theatre, although it does not work out of a single community. 'Wherever an organized or unorganized audience may be found--be it outside a factory, at a bus-stop or a campus--draw a big circle on the ground and you have the complete acting area for a performance by Jana Natya Manch' read one of their recent broadsheets handed out on 11 November, 1979, as part of the first anniversary celebrations of its activities.

'An incident, an issue, a significant development, a political question (the communal riots in Aligarh, working women's conference, fare-raise by the Delhi Transport Company, the Industrial Relations Bill, mid-term polls--an idea emerging from all or any of these--and you have a new play from Jana Natya Manch', it continued.

To celebrate their first anniversary, they brought together 'all street theatre activists of New Delhi'. Their venue was the spacious lawn before the multi-storeyed Indian Council of Historical Research building. Participants included Prayog and Nishant, two university-based street play groups which, like Jana Natya Manch are socially concerned.

Between 1972 and 1977, Jana Natya Manch successfully staged theatre productions while experimenting with the idea of street plays. In October 1978 they adopted street plays as their exclusive medium, writing the plays and performing six of them to well over 300,000 people altogether.[4]

So recent is their street play activity--catalytic theatre as it has also been called--that its impact cannot begin to be assessed. Members of the group have one goal in common, to bring about change: 'Some teachers, students, journalists and office workers together seeking to teach the people through dramas, seeking to activize the people on important issues, seeking to understand the reality of today's India--that is Jana Natya Manch'.

Unlike Living Theatre in Calcutta (which though Marxist, is not aligned to parties), theirs is an overtly party political (Marxist) alignment.

Another group using theatre with some participatory elements is the Mobile Creches for Working Mothers[5] based primarily in Delhi, but with some projects in Bombay.

The Mobile Creches was formed ten years ago by a group of middle class Delhi housewives to provide day-care facilities for the children of female construction workers. About 20,000 children have passed through its 97 Delhi-based centres. The creches today provide both child care and education not only for the children but also for the parents. Its organizers have gradually become experts on the problems and effects of migrancy on these people, particularly with regard to health and development.

The emphasis is on entertainment and education rather than on participation. Since the Mobile Creches centres work through the contractors, they cannot go too far in stirring up the labourers without risking being turned away from the construction sites.

Part of their programme includes a mobile educational theatre unit called Lok Doot. The unit consists of 13 people--nine of them full-time Mobile Creche Workers, four of them part-time workers. Themes and stories are drawn from the common experiences of construction

workers. Lok Doot's repertoire includes anything from dramatized folktales for children, to plays on religious and mythological themes, and humorous skits on the value of literacy, better health and nutrition practices, and the ingestion of green leavy vegetables to cure night blindness, a common ailment among construction workers.

Lok Doot workers involve the communities wherever possible. If nothing else, construction workers help to make the stage arrangements if Lok Doot is performing at resettlement sites, and the contractors are asked to provide electricity if possible when the shows take place on the work sites.

Plays have been used successfully at the community level by several social activists, many of them primarily interested in adult literacy based on the methods of Paulo Freire, educator, author, and consultant with the World Council of Churches in Geneva. While these social activists work at village rather than at the urban level, their approach is interesting because of its emphasis on the need for long-term commitment to a community.

The Rural Community Development Association (RCDA), for example, has used theatre in the course of its nine-fold programme of activities: (1) literacy classes; (2) cultural action; (3) mass entertainment; (4) training of village animators; (5) training of youth leaders; (6) training of women and other leaders; (7) raising social issues; (8) raising political issues; and (9) raising economic issues. Individuals who initiate the process, known as 'animators,' are the key to RCDA's programme. They use Gandhi's techniques of political struggle, Paulo Freire's approach to adult literacy, Saul Alinsky's organizational principles and Marxist social analysis. By avoiding a pre-planned syllabus, each animator can develop techniques to suit the specific needs of this community.

Literacy classes play a dominant role. They are organized in the open under the street light where all the village collects. Adult discussion begins after the children have gone to sleep. Youth associations are formed within a few days of RCDA's appearance in a village. Then starts a long, uphill process of literacy classes less geared to the three R's than to politicizing the participants. RCDA has evolved a form of theatre which adjusts itself over years to the changing level of understanding and critical awareness of participants.

The 'play' is conducted on street corners by the Harijans (untouchables) themselves, prompted by animators who ask them to act out their own daily experiences. Thus the 'first act' of the play, which takes place several days, depicts the normal live of untouchables. The Harijans portray unemployment problems with access to drinking water, and their relationships with landowners. As they act out and then discuss their problems, they understand their own situation more clearly and gradually become aware of possible solutions.

The 'second act' of the drama is then presented. It emphasizes the need for unity amongst the Harijans, the idea of coming to each other's help in times of trouble, bringing in concepts such as aid to the old and the sick. 'Act three' identifies the chief perpetrators of oppression in the village hierarchy: the local leaders or government officials. Two years may pass before the villagers reach this stage. By now they are ready to explore the methods used to maintain the status quo and in the course of preparing this third act, they begin to grasp the underlying structures of oppression. The fact that they are acting out dramas, allow them freedom of expression without the fear of reprisals.

The fourth and final 'act' explains how these structures can be changed, including the best ways of petitioning landlords for redressal of grievances, ways of negotiating as equals and means of avoiding the machinations of power groups. The problems are so clearly understood, that on some occasions RCDA animators, who now work in 55 villages have had participants become restive before the sequence is complete. Usually, however, it takes several years to break down the deeply-rooted inhibitions governing casteless Hindus. Drama provides one of the few media in which they dare to even voice their complaints to 'landlords' portrayed by fellow Harijans. Dramatized complaints do not bring the real-life reprisals of being burnt alive in one's hut, or being beaten by caste Hindus.

Jagran[7] is a Delhi-based pantomine group involved in communication for development. Jagran was born of the concern felt by Roy Aloke, its founder and director, in 1966 when he worked as a volunteer on relief programmes in the drought-stricken areas of Rajasthan. Roy Aloke's extensive travels brought him into close contact with the landless Harijans and their problems.

Not only were the Harijans ignorant of basic health and sanitation facilities to which the government entitled them, but they accepted with hopeless resignation the political, social and economic discrimination practised on them by a small number of rich landlords who owned most of the fertile land in the area.

Roy decided that the most effective form of constructive interaction with the Harijans would be through a unit of travelling actors, a unit which could learn about and dramatize the problems of remote villagers living beyond the reach of radio and television. The troupe was established, using a bare minimum of props. It travelled into outlying villages, talked with the people, found out the community problems and built simple acts around them. Its aim was to impart a sense of self-sufficiency to the Harijans with a view to encouraging self-help schemes.

Jagran's travels constantly brought the actors up against one of India's major communication problems: the existence of 17 official languages and 208 recognized dialects. Gradually they resorted to mime. Local taboos, rituals and gestures became grist to the mill.

These simples mimes were supposed to act as catalysts to spark community awareness; to reduce the feelings of helplessness and apathy among Harijans, to let them know that they could help themselves rather than rely on the authorities to do everything for them.

There is no evidence to prove whether or not Jagran achieved its goal. However, its work gained enough credibility over the years to receive fundings from such development organizations as Care and UNICEF. Indeed, it still relies totally on donated funds. In the case of Care India, Jagran emphasized nutrition for the pregnant mother as well as for the nursing mother and weaning infant, and explains how to avoid diarrhoea, worms and boils, as related in The Impact of Mime,[8] a study designed around the 1974 project. Performed once a week for six weeks in target areas around Delhi, the shows consistently attracted crowds of 200 to 300 people and sometimes played to as many as 800 spectators at a time, many of them children.

By the mid-seventies, Jagran had become well known as a medium catering for slum areas, and accepted a contract from the Delhi Slums Commissioner to use its mime programmes to help motivate slum dwellers to take responsibility for public utilities such as water taps, latrines and drains in the resettlement area, misuse of which was causing damage worth millions of rupees. Jagran used the Commission's reports to locate specific communities, visited them, looked them over and confirmed the blocked gutters, the broken taps and so on. Jagran employees gathered from casual conversations with slum dwellers that people wanted the public utilities maintained as long as the responsibility for doing so fell outside the community.

Sample skits based on Jagran's preliminary 'research' proved successful. They caught and held the attention of the community. The Care India Report, mentioned above, concluded that 'the mime shows achieved a creditable impact, especially in view of the fact that as many as 18 messages were disseminated in only six shows over the short period of six weeks'.

Roy Aloke concludes: 'If nothing else, we reach communities and areas where nobody else goes. We have never seen VTR teams, theatre people, or communication people where we work'.

Several examples of community mobilization, limited as they are, can be attributed directly to the impact of Jagran performances. The replacement of a community water tap was one example. Another community was motivated through mime to organize self-help cleaning teams during a sweeper strike. Yet another case occurred after a Jagran show emphasized the importance of better health care in a particular community. A group of women approached Roy and told him they could not get adequate health care at the understaffed local health centre. While this is not part of Jagran's mandate, Roy did put the women in touch with the appropriate authority.[9]

Mobilization after the media event is one form of urban community involvement. Jagran's mime has elicited less tangible evidence of community participation at other levels. At the individual level, people have let Jagran know of their willingness to volunteer their homes and their own services to the group. Many of them have admitted to changing some of their habits as a result of the show. Others have participated by making suggestions on the skit contents. As Mehra writes, 'On the whole, the criticisms were a healthy sign indicative of the extent

of the respondents' involvement and interest in the shows. Hence, they frequently suggested the types of problem that they would like to see enacted. A few also suggested that Jagran should perform before government officials to make them more aware of their responsibilities towards the slum-communities.'[10]

Elsewhere, community participation took the form of co-operation between Jagran and the resident welfare doctor--a partially trained medical student who had decided to practice in the slums. Jagran accorded the doctor the same respect normally shown to fully qualified doctors. Together they worked out topics that would be most relevant to the community. The doctor gained community support and sympathy as a result of the shows, while Jagran benefited from the knowledge that their themes were useful.

Jagran also involves people indirectly by absorbing local issues, gestures and interests into their shows. However, its basic repertoire is now well-established, barring improvisations to meet local idiosyncrasies. Thus one might say the issues are never spontaneously conceived by the community. At best, they are reinforced by the audience.

One of the major problems faced by Jagran is funding. 'Our funding is irregular. Only in the last year have we been able to assure the group monthly payment', Roy Aloke says. All funds are raised outside the communities. The government has been a major sponsor in the past, but Roy feels its support is not worth the constant upheavals and reorientation which accompany changes in government.

While Jagran appears to have been fairly successful as a community-level communicator, it would require rigorous, and long-term research to confirm claims regarding heightened consciousness or attitude change. Certainly, there has been some audience involvement, and some audience reaction.

Summary

Street plays share many of the advantages described in the preceding section on traditional media. They require few props and enjoy a high degree of mobility, which in turn fosters access and community participation. Above all, street plays are inexpensive.

The problem of self-management in this context has less to do with the need to develop management or technical skills, than with the willingness to let people participate. The latter depends on the degree of interest in genuine community participation as opposed to rigidly predetermined interpretations of what is good for the community.

There is nothing specifically urban about street plays. Their strength is their flexibility, which allows performance wherever a social topic or audience can be found. Street players and mime groups rely on various sources of funding. Many of the semi-professional groups conduct street theatre as a side-line after work. They may pass the hat, or charge limited entrance contributions. Others receive external funding from development agencies.

Unlike non-profit theatre conducted in the auditorium, street players and mime groups need not submit scripts for screening by municipal authorities to avoid the steep entertainment tax levied on commercial groups. Scripts qualify for exemption if they contain no 'objectionable' material. While this usually refers to materials considered obscene, there is leeway for political interpretations.

The case study on Jagran demonstrates some of the foregoing points. Mime is flexible, inexpensive, and--above all--relatively well understood by people of various linguistic origins. Jagran has reached deeply into slum areas, adapting its presentation to local conditions, incorporating local gestures and mores.

However, in terms of urban community media, it has been involved only superficially in supporting local community initiatives and in solving community problems. Rather, it focuses on issues deemed important by its director--malnutrition, sanitation, and other symptoms of poverty, as well as caste discrimination.

While street theatre and mime do not have the emotional appeal of traditional media, they do share many aspects of its potential for urban community media work in India. Street

players or catalyst theatre groups are becoming increasingly involved at the community level in Indian cities. The Maharashtra case shows how a group of urban based 'dramatists' have been used by social workers to bring highly-charged theatre to the grass roots level with good results.

4. Group media

Here, the term 'group media' encompasses such technical aids as video, audio-cassettes, tape-slides and other audio-visual materials. Like mass media, group media invariably suffer some attendant technological constraints in terms of the availability and maintenance of equipment. Unlike mass media, the equipment is more accessible to the audience and allows immediate feedback. Group media also provide potentially useful tools for community media work in India, particularly in urban areas, which allow access to technical back-up systems. But this potential has yet to be fulfilled.

Video

Video has had little impact at the community level in India to date, mainly because all its equipment must be imported. Quite aside from the additional expenses and administrative problems associated with customs transactions, few community groups can afford either the equipment itself, or the training required to develop adequate maintenance expertise at the local level.

The cheapest video system costs at least U.S. $1,500. Its purchase presupposes an import licence and duty amounting to at least 100 per cent of its original cost. Hence, the minimum outlay is about $3,000 or Rs 25,000. In contrast, Indian per capita income figures for 1975-1976 show an average earning of Rs. 1,005 per annum at current prices.

Some urban based communication agencies have toyed with video, amongst them Astha of St. Xavier Institute of Communication in Bombay and Chitrabani of Calcutta. So expensive is the equipment, however, and so difficult to maintain, that both agencies have tended to keep their sets under lock and key. Chitrabani's two VTR sets, usually stored behind locked doors, are used only for teaching film and script-writing to students of its diploma course in social communications. The little community work which has been done with video in India, has taken place in rural rather than in urban settings. The Centre for Development of Instructional Technology (CENDIT), for example, has used video experimentally in the Saharanpur district of Uttar Pradesh. Villagers were encouraged to handle the equipment. They recorded sports and singing as well as discussions on family planning and land grievances. The latter was shown to landlords from whom it elicited some sympathy but no action.[1]

Tape slides and audio-cassettes

Audio-cassettes and tape-slides are used regularly for audio-visual presentations by people at the community level albeit as delivery systems for educational messages centrally produced.

Astha of Bombay, for example, designs much of its non-formal educational work around discussion groups. These meet at 'Action Centres' whose basic goals are 'to create awareness that will lead to group or individual action on the felt problems with the emphasis on local situations'.[2]

Action Centre animators are always from slum areas, usually high school graduates, who have an intimate knowledge of the community within which they work. On call for six evenings a week, they devote part of the time to non-formal education for non-literate adults, and the rest of the time to teaching any community residents showing an interest in non-formal education. 'Action oriented discussions' are stimulated by means of audio-visual material, including pre-recorded sound programmes, slide-tape programmes, posters, print materials, drama and role-playing.

> 'I suppose you can say we got into audio-visuals the hard way. The earliest collaboration of the Xavier Institute of Communication was with Bombay Doordarshan (Television) on the TV Literacy Series. There were a number of reasons why we

gave up this collaborative venture ... Let me put it like this: the more we got into adult education the more we realized how important it was to vary the structured, rigid, highly formal pedagogy of learning into something open-ended, flexible, functional and participatory. We realized our adult learners were much more than passive consumers. They were vocal, expressive, and though illiterate, possessed of vast funds of folk culture which lay untapped. We realized we didn't need a high-cost mass medium. We needed a low-cost group medium. Something visually flexible enough and visually attractive enough to keep a group going'. [3]

While Astha's programme is educational, its methods are participatory, based on Paulo Freire's philosophy. Project criteria stipulate that 'the educational process should stimulate the learners to look critically at the world around them ... that the project should enable learners to look critically at themselves and their conceptions which may be working to keep them oppressed ... that what one says and how one says it have to be integrated'.

Hence, recent audio-visuals are Kshaya-roga (Tuberculosis) based on interviews with Bhandup slum dwellers in Bombay, and Eklavya, based on an epic Indian story which explores how myths and folk-tales may be used to cast light on present day problems.

Like video equipment, cassette-recorders and tape-slide equipment are relatively expensive, although, unlike video, they are produced in India. Bearing in mind the Indian annual per capita income of Rs. 1000 in 1976 terms, consider the minimum price of a cassette recorder at Rs. 800 and the replacement cost of a film projector bulb at about Rs. 150 a bulb. Often the person showing the films or slides is held responsible for the bulb, although he himself may only be earning about Rs. 200 a month. Consequently many projectors are simply kept under lock and key.

This situation may change with the development of low-cost slide-projector kits. For example, the Assam Government has commissioned the Indian Institute of Mass Communication to develop low-cost audio-visual kits to communicate with its tribal residents. The resulting kit consists of a portable box, a little bigger than a briefcase, with a lid that serves as a black projection screen. This is made either of locally available tissue paper or translucent plastic. The box holds a filmstrip-cum-slide projector with a nine-volt motorcycle headlamp bulb, and a cassette recorder, or a 'two-in-one' radio-cum-cassette recorder. There is still space for filmstrips, or 100 slides, flash clards, ten cassette tapes and a spare torch (essential in a village). [4] The total cost is 1,800 Rupees.

The same operation has also produced a Filmstrip Making Kit. Together with an Isoly II camera, a developing tank and contact printing box (all made in India), plus the chemicals and a hundred feet of positive film for printing filmstrips and slides, the kit costs 500 rupees. It can be adapted for battery use.

Of greater significance, in terms of low cost and accessibility, is the Magic Lantern developed by Chitrabani of Calcutta, described in the following pages:

Case Study: Chitrabani

Chitrabani, literally translated, means 'Sight and Sound'. Chitrabani has a two-fold obsession: first, with media and second, with the poor of Calcutta and its environs. Despite the best of intentions, the media aspect of its work tends to dominate. Communication becomes an end rather than a means. This dichotomy is best summarized in its 1977 brochure which describes Chitrabani as a non-profit agency sponsored by the Calcutta province of the Society of Jesus (Jesuits) dedicated to 'the cause of relating expensive media to the basic needs of the people, especially the poor'. [5]

The magic lantern, adapted from an enormous contraption used by a Calcutta puppeteer, has evolved through several models commissioned on commercial contract by Chitrabani. Its director, Gaston Roberge, describes the final result as follows:

'The Magic Lantern is nothing but a slide projector utilizing large size slides of 4" x 4". We wish to give people a medium which can be under their total control. When you come to a

group with a sophisticated slide projector you very rightly do not allow each and every one to handle it. The slide projector calls for an 'expert' who alone will be allowed to use the apparatus. On the other hand, the magic lantern costs a mere Rs. 200 (one Calcutta firm now markets it for Rs. 400). It is built by an ordinary tinsmith, it is equipped with a locally available lens and it uses an ordinary 100 watt household bulb'. [6]

When there is no electricity, the plywood shelf may be removed, making room for petroleum-fuelled lamps, known as petromax. This further enlarges its scope for use at the community level in less developed areas.

More important still is the introduction of glass slides. Chitrabani is working on perfecting this solution to the problem of slide procurement in remote areas, by teaching people to make their own slides. Using 4" x 4" plates of glass, rather than celluloid, Chitrabani has initiated several projects at the slum and village level for the local production of slides.

The magic lantern can contribute to community media work in three ways. First, it can provide groups with a tool which allows full community access to the media and full participation in the process of communication. Secondly, it can counteract community dependency on outsiders for the procurement and processing of slides. Theoretically, making the slides can be more important than showing them. People can gain a new perspective on their environment by trying to recapitulate it in symbolic form. The process of decoding experiences into symbols for slides, and discussing the result with fellow community members can help them to articulate their priorities more clearly, and to see possible solutions to their problems. If the translation of experience into pictures and symbols takes place in group situations, productive debate may result. Finally, the symbols engendered in slum areas or other places removed from the official educational process, may support research into image-making appropriate to the understanding of slum dwellers. Chitrabani's own research includes work on images produced by community groups around Calcutta and is designed to help Chitrabani produce media tools more relevant to the environment of social workers in the area. [7]

Roberge is not advocating the use of the magic lantern at the expense of standard projectors. In some cases, in his view, the magic lantern can act as a precursor to the standard projector. It can teach social workers the basic problems of participatory communication which can arise when outsiders, however well-meaning, approach slum dwellers with sophisticated technology and pre-programmed material.

There are no examples of specific community action resulting from Chitrabani's work with the magic lantern. However, a few incidents indicate its potential for urban community media work.

Chitrabani has worked in a North Calcutta slum at a centre more or less run by middle-class housewives, for example. The housewives' original involvement with the slum was limited to a steady supply of maids from the area. Gradually, the employers started literacy classes for their maids, then schools, and finally they established a round-the-clock centre for them called Paikpara Sama Unnayan Kendra. One of the organizers visited Chitrabani. She was advised to use slide shows to generate discussion on topical issues. Some 35 mm slides were used quite successfully for eight sessions spread over about six months.

As the shows became more popular in the slum community, they increasingly formed a source of passive entertainment, no longer eliciting group discussion. Chitrabani then changed to the magic lantern. Part-time maids from the slum became community health workers and proved to be excellent communicators and animators. They used the magic lantern with good results in house-to-house campaigns to influence lepers to see doctors and minimize the accompanying social stigma.

Chitrabani's other projects in Calcutta slums appear to reflect the predilections of the agency, rather than the needs of the community. They appear to portray the work of an organization which has the solutions and seeks the projects. In Chitrabani's case the solutions are ready access to films, photographs, funds, dark rooms and personnel. The resulting project, to name but one, is the Calcutta Photo Project. This was designed by Chitrabani in 1975 to create a data bank of photographs for use by development agencies and social workers operating in Calcutta slums.

While at first glance it appears to serve a community of interest, i.e. an interest in helping the poor, it was not designed on the basis of needs articulated by the social workers already active in Calcutta slums, neither did it respond to the needs articulated by the slum dwellers themselves. Rather, it reflected the agency's interpretation of these needs, based on the resources available--not in the community, but in Chitrabani.

The creation of a data bank of photographs for development work in Calcutta slums involved two phases. The first phase consisted of creating the data bank; the second of influencing social workers and development agencies already active in Calcutta slums to use the photographs.

Nine good amateur photographers were hired to record the life of the 'poor' in Calcutta, in other words, the life of about 90 per cent of the population. They began by dividing 'Calcutta life' into 50 categories collected under general headings like transportation, water procurement, food, sanitation, family life, etc. Each photographer received a camera from Chitrabani, supplied his own film, chose a subject and went to work. Chitrabani, in turn, agreed to pay for any photographs relevant to the project and of acceptable standard.

The photographers met at least once a week to discuss their pictures. Each session was recorded and testified to increasing sensitivity vis-à-vis their subject matter, as shown in the following comment by Roberge:

> 'Our photographers have devoted a lot of time to try and define what sort of photographs are most useful ... They have come to believe that they should not seek to hide any of the problems which the slum dwellers face. On the other hand, they take care not to prettify the ugliness of human poverty. Above all, they try to make photos which emphasize the natural beauty of the people. Poor people hardly ever see images of themselves as beautiful. For, if ever their photos are taken, it is usually with the view to document their abject poverty and their shameful condition. Thus people rarely see an image of themselves which they can be proud of. Strictly, they are image-less people. As concerned image-makers our first task is to make images in front of which the slum dwellers will experience no shame, no sense of helplessness'. [8]

Their actual experiences in the slums were far removed from the philosophical discussions. Typical is the following experience.

The young photographer pays off his cycle-rickshaw at the crowded slum corner. He is immediately inundated with the strident shouts of pavement vendors desperately competing for customers. His camera at the ready, he meanders through the crowds, gradually recording a kaleidoscope of minidramas unfolding all around him: two toddlers attempting to manipulate a water pump: pavement dwelling families washing pans and laundry in clouded water which wells up through the sidewalk from a broken main; a ten-year-old boy with a sixty-year-old expression grinning as he sells tea from a blackened pot; street vendors carefully arranging and rearranging their meagre piles of oranges, lentils or nuts to attract buyers; a skinny wrinkled man, his hair almost white, expertly manoeuvring a heavy rickshaw.

Several people recognize the photographer and wave or shout a greeting. They are used to him. He has been visiting the slum for months. Some of them, especially the children, love to be photographed. Others withdraw quietly. Yet others openly question his presence. He explains time and again how he hopes the photographs will benefit slum-dwellers. 'Why photographs?' they retort. 'We need food.' 'This is food for the mind,' he answers, and the words ring hollow in his own ears. [9]

The photographer in question, Brian Balen, often pondered the cost/benefit aspect of the Photo Project:

> The cost of a roll of black-and-white film is roughly equivalent to that of shoes for two children ... The cost of a photographic project, therefore, though low in comparison with the cost of projects involving other media, immediately raises the question of priorities. Short-term tangible values as opposed to long-term intangible benefits. In depressed human conditions, short-term benefits or achievements take on a compelling priority over longer-term benefits that have to be planned, calculated and constantly reworked, thus requiring a patience or an energy

that most underprivileged people just cannot muster ... In reflecting back to the people a positive image of themselves, photos can help them experience some sense of dignity, self-respect and confidence. They can help them in understanding their milieu, and in taking positive collective action towards changing their destiny ... The cost of the photographs then appears minimal.[10]

Thus the photographers' meetings touched increasingly on photography for community development, raising such philosophical questions as the right of a photographer to another person's image, the need to use people's photographs to serve the community rather than to exploit the community for personal gain.

The Calcutta Photo Project produced 1500 good photographs for its data bank, taken over a period of nine months, and depicting life among the poor during three seasons: summer, winter and monsoon.

The price of Chitrabani's original failure to reflect community interest was paid in phase two of the project when the social workers and agencies for whom the photographs were intended evinced minimal interest in them and the photographs lay unused in Chitrabani's files for years.

A second, slightly more successful project indirectly grew out of the Calcutta Photo Project in 1977. As before, a major impetus was the availability of media resources and funds. In addition, Chitrabani had begun to co-operate with the Seva Sangh Samiti, a voluntary agency administered by a committee of Hindus, Muslims and Christians.

The Seva Sangh Samiti grew out of a small nucleus of slum dwellers who, in 1966, decided to do something about their own problems. From small beginnings it has grown with French voluntary support into an organization that now provides extensive sanitation, health and education services in the Pilkhana slum of Calcutta.

By 1977, when Chitrabani was ready to undertake a more specialized photo project, the Seva Sangh Samiti realized that its medical assistance at the clinic would be more effective if complemented with some kind of non-formal education stressing preventive health measures.

They began with occasional hygiene lessons given by social workers in the crowded clinic waiting rooms to groups of 35 to 50 patients waiting to see the doctor. Chitrabani produced two series of charts, one on tuberculosis, the other on breast feeding, before deciding to experiment with photographs taken of Pilkana slum children. These were to be used as additional instructional material to generate discussion among the slum patients at the Pilkhana clinic. By the time Chitrabani and the Samiti discussed the Pilkhana Children's Project, they were able to take into account the many hours of philosophical discussion on the ethics of photography in slums taped during the Calcutta Photo Project. Together they formulated specific guidelines for the use of the Pilkhana Children's photos.

For example, they agreed to 'refrain from the exploitive use of photographs', by which they meant the use of photographs in ways not of benefit to the people themselves. This included the use of the photographs for fund raising by 'appealing to the pity of the onlooker or by depicting the people as miserable and incapable of helping themselves'. Neither were the photos to be used for illustrating articles which did not 'relate sufficiently' to the people seen in the photos. In other words, they intended to use the photographs as they would 'the photographs of brothers and sisters'.

Balen, the only one of the nine original photographers to remain with Chitrabani, was assigned to take pictures of the Pilkhana slum children. Ultimately, these were to be exhibited in the slum as part of the UN Year of the Child celebrations in 1979, their cost being underwritten jointly by UNICEF and OCIC (International Catholic Organization for Film and Audiovisual).

In the interim, Chitrabani and the Samiti used the photographs in two ways. Mini-exhibitions were mounted in the waiting room of the Samiti's dispensary with Samiti social workers showing 3 or 4 photographs to batches of 35 to 50 patients at a time and trying to generate discussions around them.

These sessions proved unsuccessful. The people had come with specific problems to see the doctor. Many of them were worried and the attention wandered. The Samiti and Chitrabani then decided to laminate the photographs to allow people to handle the pictures to feel them, to turn them around. These sessions, conducted in a second waiting room, are said to have been more effective, judging from the beginnings of spontaneous discussions.

Utpal Basu of Chitrabani conducted one of the mini-exhibition series at the Pilkhana clinic waiting room. He recalls the excitement created by the photograph of a girl whose hand bore a huge burn mark. The slum dwellers wanted to know at what age he had hurt herself, whether she was still suffering pain. Most significantly, they chastised the mother for being foolish enough to let a child get near boiling water.

This kind of incident demonstrates the first stirrings of group consciousness, which, with time, could be harnessed into community action. The success of the mini-exhibitions rests with the aptitude of the social worker for animation work. It requires infinite patience on the part of the social worker to create an atmosphere in which the slum dwellers are comfortable enough to discuss their problems based on the photographs. It also requires tact to be able to criticize certain aspects of slum lives, without destroying the positive elements portrayed in the photographs. Carried out correctly, the process should educate both the slum dweller and the social worker. The former should become more adept at articulating his or her needs, the latter more sensitive to the problems faced by the slum dweller. The clinic sessions are far too short to produce real debate. To date no direct action can be traced to the mini-exhibitions, although attendance at the clinic and other centres is said by Chitrabani personnel to have increased after media intervention.

At first glance, Chitrabani appears to have been successful. Certainly it has geared some of its media research to social action and to grass roots activities. A closer look reveals Chitrabani's failure to link its grass roots media philosophy with grass roots media action. Both stem from the personality of Chitrabani's director, a Canadian Jesuit priest with post-graduate qualifications in and boundless enthusiasm for mass media communications.

For example, having gone to great lengths to avoid exploiting the children of Pilkhana by making their photographs commercially unavailable outside the slum, Chitrabani is now in the process of using these very same photographs to create an animated film on Indian children for use by American television. Roberge's justification for this venture is his hope of getting enough free copies of the film for use by Calcutta slum organizations, and the comment 'that it is pointless to take photos and not use them at all'.[11]

Similarly, at the time of writing this report, Chitrabani was putting the finishing touches on a glossy and expensive reference book for adult educators and social workers based on a selection of photographs originally taken for the Calcutta Photo Project.

Summary

The potential role of group media at the urban level in India hinges on finances. As long as video systems, film projectors, slide projectors, cassettes and other items labelled group media continue to carry a price-tag disproportionate to the average Indian income, they will fail to elicit participatory community action. Research into cheaper form of group media are thus of utmost importance, hence the case study on Chitrabani.

5. Radio and television

It is difficult to make valid generalizations about the potential of broadcasting media for urban community media work in India. They are inhibited by three major characteristics: state monopoly, social stratification and economic underdevelopment.

All India Radio (AIR) is an office attached to the Ministry of Information. The Minister is responsible to the Cabinet and accountable to the Parliament. Administrative centralization has undermined the efficiency and economy of programming at all levels of the broadcasting system. As early as 1965, the Report of the Committee on Broadcasting and Information Media noted policies that involved national programmes relayed locally at the insistence of the Directorate-General, despite their lack of significance and interest to local listeners, and concluded

that 'Decentralization is essential for efficiency and economy. Delegation of authority to all levels should be commensurate with their responsibility. Subject to policy directions, the stations should have freedom to plan programmes and be adjudged on their performance'. [1]

Yet, in keeping with the mood of the country during Independence, access and participation had been maintained as part of its mandate, which aimed 'to bring the radio within easy reach of the entire population and to devise programmes which would satisfy the needs and urges of a newly independent nation and at the same time provide media support to the tasks of national reconstruction'. [2]

The First Five-Year Plan drawn up in 1951, included broadcasting as a tool of national development and broadcasting has remained an integral part of each successive five-year plan. At the time of India's Independence there were only six radio stations, ten transmitters and about one radio set to every 1800 persons. Its physical proportions today are staggering: 1977 figures show a total of 84 stations and 155 transmitters broadcasting 1,045 hours a day in 35 languages and 137 dialects. [3]

The service is said to be reaching 81 per cent of the population, over 69 per cent of India's geographical area. Nearly 18 million receiving sets indicate an average of one set for 35 people more like 'one set for every 8 or 10 persons' in towns like Bombay and Delhi, according to Gopal Das. [4] These figures are misleading. In practice, only about one third of India's population has access to radio.

Quantitatively, AIR appears at first glance to have lived up to its mandate for making radio facilities more widely accessible. Several observers with long-standing involvement in radio have, however, suggested otherwise. Raghavan, for example, points to a 'vast' gap between State perception and practice of its mandate.

'The increase in the number of radio stations and of transmission time, over the years, has not been in the direction of making broadcasting more relevant and useful to the majority of our population who live in the villages. The expansion has only added to the information and entertainment provided to city and town dwellers who, it is estimated, own 80 per cent of the radio receivers in the country'. [5]

Author Mehra Masani criticizes 'the Government's decision to retain, for reasons of expediency, vestiges of our colonial heritage which were neither democratic nor "progressive" ... The question arises whether the insignificant impact of broadcasting on Indian life is not due to restricted growth made inevitable by an outdated organization'. [6]

The 1965 Report of the Committee on Broadcasting and Information Media concluded that 'it is only by an institutional change that AIR can be liberated from the present rigid financial and administrative procedures of Government', and recommended an autonomous institution.

This recommendation was taken up again with gusto by the working Group on Autonomy for Radio and Television (known as the Verghese Committee) in keeping with the Janata Party's 1977 election pledge to provide 'genuine autonomy' for radio and television.

In 1978, the Verghese Committee recommended an autonomous National Broadcast Trust, based on 'the seven faces of autonomy' which included the definition 'the concept of autonomy must be comprehensive, involving a highly participative and decentralized style of management fostering independence among individuals as well as units'. [7] No action has yet been taken.

If state monopoly is one barrier to participation and accessibility, India's societal stratification is another. Linguistic stratification provides the most obvious example. As was pointed out above, India has 17 official languages, 208 recognized dialects, 90 distinct ethno-linguistic regions. Special language broadcasts have had to be introduced to provide a modicum of national coverage. This means a multiplication of costs to cover equipment, staff and broadcast time for each linguistic group. Ahmedabad City radio--to take just one example--serves people with more than five mother tongues. While the majority of citizens consider Gujarati their mother tongue, others speak Hindi, Marathi, Urdu and Sindhi.

If one considers the concurrent variation in customs and interest among these groups, not to mention professional priorities, one begins to appreciate the problems faced by a central

programming body, particularly if it is trying to tailor its output to local interest, in a situation where the economic situation is tight. There is neither the infrastructure nor the financial resources to support community initiatives on a major scale.

Of specific relevance to urban community media in India are AIR's isolated attempts to try to involve the public in the media process through Public Participation Programmes and Special Audience Programmes. The former carried by only twelve radio stations provide local and linguistic variations on the theme of the 'People's Parliament', a programme format which allows people to submit their problems for on-air debate with key government officials. The latter include programmes intended for industrial workers, youth, women, children, school and college students, the armed forces, the tribal people and rural inhabitants.

Programming for women amounts to only 1.3 per cent of AIR's total programming. Of this, K.S. Mullick, a long-term AIR executive, writes: '... though there are now many capable and earnest-minded women in AIR who are doing their best to get the most out of the limited time and means at their disposal, it is primarily the authorities at the top who must display a more meaningful attitude to this enormously important area of programming'.[8]

Children's programming (1.2 per cent), in Mullick's view, allows a certain amount of participation. Children submit scripts and take part in some of the items. Less successful have been the school and college students programmes. Mullick traces their inability to elicit participation to four factors: deficient technical equipment (such as receiving sets, extension loud speakers, local amplification apparatus); overcrowded school syllabi which prevent group listening; an atmosphere non-conducive to attentive listening (too many students, too little space); and inadequate arrangements for supervising the broadcast period and programme discussion.

Neither does Mullick see college students participating or even following AIR programmes, except for the University of the Air programme which broadcasts five lectures a week. Based on studies, he puts this down to poor listening facilities, unacceptable programme timing, and too short a broadcast duration.

In 1955, Narendra Kumar assessed the impact of AIR's long-standing special programme series for industrial workers first broadcast in 1949. His scientific survey--the only one on public record--reveals that the programmes were 'not popular'. Reasons given by respondents for failure to listen included 'little awareness' of the programmes, 'unsuitable' content, lack of 'proper active' co-operation among AIR, Labour Department, Labour organizations and workers; and 'neglect on the part of AIR to investigate the real problems, needs and interests of listeners'.[9] A bibliography of Audience Research Unit surveys indicates little change in the intervening years. In short, AIR is said to have had little success with its special programming in terms of audience response. Exceptions are the rural-based Community Listening Schemes and the well-documented Radio Rural Forum. A third programme which has exhibited some elements of audience participation, this time in an urban context, is Yuv Vani ('Voice of Youth'). Officially it falls into the category of Special Audience Broadcasting. Yuv Vani has been called a 'shining example of the measure of credibility' in AIR. 'It is youth's own service, planned by and for them. Sometimes the tone is angry and vocabulary permissive, but youth have the freedom of the air'.[10] Hafeez Noorani in his articles 'Youth and its Radio'[11] described it as the most significant of the social experiments carried out in AIR.

It was launched with fanfares from All India Radio Delhi in 1969 as a 'channel for youth expression'. Before that, stations had carried only occasional youth programmes. Unfortunately, Yuv Vani's transmitter was too weak to carry more than 35 kilometres from Delhi, and soon earned criticisms of urban bias, despite programmes like Roving Microphones which sent people into outlying areas with microphones to search out material. This was broadcast in both English and Hindi, the latter presented colloquially to benefit members of the audience who had not been to school.[12]

It took several years for the concept of regular youth programming to spread to other major centres, although many stations increased their various youth broadcasts after the first Yuv Vani broadcasts. Since then, Yuv Vani programmes have been broadcast increasingly from many stations around India. Over fifty stations carry programmes for youth, wherever possible on separate transmissions. Some stations, such as Delhi, Calcutta, Hyderabad, Jammu and Srinagar broadcast between five and six hours every day. Others carry half-hour or even just ten-minutes youth programmes.

Programme content will vary according to the size of the station and the time allotted to youth issues. New Delhi broadcasts for six hours, seven days a week. Its programme is divided into two broad categories: Music (approximately 65 per cent of the content) and spoken material(approximately 35 per cent). The music segment is again subdivided. About two-thirds of it consists in playing discs, the rest of music played live by young performers. The spoken section of Yuv Vani's programme is less entertaining and more socially relevant. Special programmes cater for target groups within the general 'youth' category, for example, by providing lectures for students, or creative writing courses for schools, while for the Roving Microphone young people with microphones search out youth issues. They might go to striking students, or to a working girls' hostel. Another tool used for encouraging participation is a register kept at the station in which people enter programme proposals. For example, a person may hear that a particular sportsman is in town and ask to interview him.

Yuv Vani's live musical entertainment category gives India's youth good training in music. It allows self-expression and elicits participation. Even the discs in the recorded music section are all selected and presented by the young people themselves. Producers may ask youngsters to cover interesting events, or invite young professionals into the studio for interviews. Some material evolves through co-operation between the producers and the young contributors.

Technical know-how, however, eliminates much spontaneous participation, although interested youths with inadequate production capabilities receive some guidance from station staff. Yuv Vani faces the common dilemma of trying to maintain production quality without sacrificing youth participation. The emphasis, according to two long-term producers, is on the latter. At the same time, Yuv Vani has had to guard against the tyranny of the minority in trying to elicit participation. Some minority groups tend to be vocal beyond their importance to society.

A major barrier to urban community participation results from the State control of Indian radio. Programmes can never be initiated by a community, since they must conform to centralized guidelines. Even in the Special Target Programmes, such as Yuv Vani, there is no ongoing interactive process with a particular community. Its audience is so wide, that there can be no scientific assessment of impact. Few examples of genuine community media events have occurred, although several shows do exhibit some relevant characteristics, such as the Roving Microphone, which may, for example, boost the morale of students on strike by according them some attention.

The potential of television, like radio, for urban community media work in India is limited: centrally-conceived programming schedules, a complicated institutional structure, producers working under pressure to fill programme time regardless, state monopoly, linguistic barriers, under-developed infrastructures, and societal fragmentation. In addition, with television, there are the problems of extremely expensive equipment with concomitant loss of operational flexibility, and a limited number of broadcast channels.

Television officially remained part of All India Radio until April 1, 1976, although experiments with television have been in progress for more than twenty years.

'From the very beginning it was declared that television was to be used in this country as a medium of social education and its development was to make it an instrument to support the strategy and programmes of social and economic development. Specifically, the object was to use it as a weapon against illiteracy and ignorance. It was stated, time and again, that it would not be allowed to become the rich man's toy--as it is in certain countries--but would be used almost exclusively for the benefit of the common man,' according to a 1978 Government publication.[13]

While there are extenuating circumstances, particularly the expense of television production, it is clear that television has not reached the mass Indian audience it seeks. As at December 1976 there were only 479,026 licenced television receivers in the country, 4341 of which were community sets, excluding school sets.[14] India has seven television centres altogether, one each at Delhi, Bombay, Srinagar, Calcutta, Amritsar, Madras and Lucknow. In addition, Pune has one relay centre. Together they cover an area of 83,000 square miles with a potential clientele of 49 million people--in a country of 641 million people.

The much-publicised satellite television project, SITE, was concerned with rural development programmes but its capacity to stimulate action, as opposed to wonder and respect for the technical ingenuity of the programmes has been questioned.[15]

The conventional television centres usually rely on studio-based production or on films, which are expensive. While Indian television has a small number of Outdoor Broadcast vans which allow good quality external production, these gigantic vehicles are too large and costly to use for anything but national events such as Test Matches and the Republic Day Parade. The Space Applications Centre at Ahmedabad has begun to look into the much less expensive half-inch and three quarter-inch videotape recorder and 'portapak' equipment. To-date this has been frowned upon by television authorities for its lesser technical quality.

Although used in rural areas a use of low-cost television, with elements of audience participation--the Kheda project--is relevant to this study. Kheda, described by Postgate et al as an 'experimental television service to rural areas,' has provided television programmes 'with development aims, planned, produced and evaluated by the team of high talent, qualification and motivation brought together for SITE'.[16] The team used television relay and small gauge video to provide 358 villages,not only with 558 community viewing sets, but also with programme content relevant to their style and pattern of life throughout the year. Individual programmes were put together by production teams consisting of a writer, a producer and a social researcher--'a character new to Indian television.'[17] Sometimes they called in outside specialists.

While the programme has elements of participation throughout, in that it responds to community needs as identified by professional researchers, the only community production was a series of seven special programmes in which local Untouchables were given a dramatic plot and encouraged to choose their parts and improvise the content.[18]

Like radio, television also has special broadcasts for women, and tribal groups, but the Verghese Report is critical of these 'conscientization programmes'.

> 'There is little doubt that by opening up new worlds of knowledge and opportunity, broadcasting can be a powerful liberating force. It is in this sense and not in terms of formal instruction that radio and television are truly great teachers. Their power to awaken and raise consciousness is something that no developing nation can afford to ignore. Yet, the tragedy is that Indian radio and television have with rare exceptions tended to avoid programmes that specifically focus on poverty, exploitation and social justice even if these are limited to educating the illiterate and oppressed about their legal and social rights'.[19]

Case study: Zoona Daab

Since Independence in 1947 the State of Kashmir has been a source of dispute, at times breaking into war, between India and Pakistan. Bounded on three sides by Pakistan and with 80 per cent of its two and a half million Muslim inhabitants, Kashmir is nevertheless part of the Indian Union and enjoys a special status guaranteed by the Indian Constitution.

Radio has always been an important medium in Kashmir. With a state literacy rate of little more than half the Indian national average, radio was the only tool available for mass propaganda at the time. Both India and Pakistan exploited this potential. Unlike other Indian State radio stations, Radio Kashmir, Srinagar, enjoyed a high degree of autonomy, thanks to the special status guaranteed to Kashmir by the Indian Constitution.

N.L. Chowla, director of Srinagar's radio station during the period preceding and following the 1965 Indo-Pakistan war, was determined to take advantage of this relative autonomy to make radio more of a community medium, rather than a government tool.[20] He began by injecting some humour into the otherwise tense political broadcasting of Radio Kashmir,Srinagar. But the popular daily 15-minute skit he devised had to be dropped after the Tashkent Agreement which settled the Kashmir issue in favour of India on January 11, 1966. At Chowla's initiative, he and his staff looked for a similar programme to help ease Kashmiri tensions following the war. A parody based on folk tales brought no audience response and was stopped.

Informal discussions continued. They were based on personal epperience and familiarity with Kashmir, rather than on specific research in the community. Humour and scope for community service remained the primary goals. Chowla felt strongly that a programme could only be effective if it could prove itself independent of government propaganda, since he felt Kashmir residents were becoming cynical about the medium.

A humorous programme, critical of government bureaucracy appeared to meet these criteria. Chowla and his staff decided on a family setting, the ideal context in their view for mundane discussions of topical issues.

Kashmir appeared to be well suited to a participatory radio programme. Not only did it have the lowest literacy rate of all Indian States (21.15 per cent in the 1971 census), but its population was relatively homogeneous.

Srinagar station did face one specific constraint, however, namely its politically sensitive situation vis-à-vis Pakistan. Staff discussions had produced two schools of thought on the subject, later echoed by Kashmir politicians. Some people feared Pakistan might use the potentially critical programmes for anti-India propaganda. Others felt such a programme would demonstrate the degree of freedom of expression enjoyed by Kashmiris.[21]

In September, 1966, Chowla took to the Chief Minister, G.M. Sadiq, his request for a programme designed to elicit potentially critical comments from its audience. He assured him that criticism would not take the form of party-politics. Rather it would concentrate on practical problems in the community, including bureaucratic inefficiency in providing public services such as road maintenance, health and education facilities. In Chowla's favour was Sadiq's 1964 campaign promise to bring 'greater liberalization' to public life and modes of expression in Kashmir. Since radio had traditionally toed the government propaganda line closely, Chowla surmised that a liberal programme stressing the people's point of view would bring them closer to the medium. He also thought it would benefit the Chief Minister politically to provide Kashmir residents with an effective platform for airing their grievances, particularly if the government redressed some of the ills brought to light by the show. Sadiq sanctioned the programme and on 3 October, 1966, it began broadcasting under the title Zoona Daab.

Zoona Daab literally means 'Moon Balcony'. The name was designed to evoke a traditional association with intimate conversations under the moonlight, and simultaneously to provide the setting of a balcony on which the typical Kashmiri family gathers each evening to gossip about the day's events.

Zoona Daab was to portray one such family. The tone of the programme was to be humorous since the Pakistani caricature had proved so popular, its language, captured by Kashmir-born and bred script-writer Somnath Sadhu, was to reflect colloquialisms common to the average Kashmiri family.

The programme in its final form revolved mainly around three people. There was the head of the household, Agha Saab, a junior civil servant, correct in his manner but inclined to complain. He represented the government's point of view. When his family complained about a broken street light or the rising cost of food, he grumbled about being over-worked, under-payed and misunderstood.

Then there was Agha Bai, his wife. Like the majority of women in the Valley of Kashmir, she could neither read nor write. Her role was that of the universal mother figure. She brought to the show a common sense outlook, unfettered by bureaucracy. As a mother she saw the problems of the day in terms of their effect on her children. If there was a major fire, she pointed out the related danger to her family and the need for safer housing; when the price of food rose, she stressed the problems of trying to give her family a proper diet. She was the one to prod her civil servant husband to think of the people. Mariam Begum who played the radio 'mother' was indeed an illiterate mother of several children whose husband could find no regular employment. Her own background and views were woven into the show to authenticate the character.

Finally, there was their servant Mama. Of quasi-feudal extraction, this comical character was apt to make politically astute remarks couched in apparently stupid comments. He brought to the show a non-urban point of view drawn from his childhood experiences in a Kashmiri village.

These three figures formed the main triangle for a daily debate between the government and its rural and urban audience. A seven-year old little girl and a second servant completed the regular cast. Sometimes the station would bring in a visitor, or the husband would go on tour if issues deemed relevant to Kashmir listeners occurred outside the State.

The yardstick for anything mentioned in the show was its perceived relevance to the average Kashmiri family. Each day Zoona Daab was discussed at staff meetings attended by the station director, the programmers and the script writers. Topic selection was based on current events and letters from the audience. The topic suggested in the general staff meeting was taken up again at the second meeting held for the 'radio family', whose members helped to decide on the treatment of each topic. Only then was anything committed to paper by the script writer.

Topic selection based on incoming mail suggests a middle-class bias, given Kashmir's low literacy rate. Typical topics were: scarcity of drinking water, bad road conditions, adulteration in foodstuffs, street lighting, public transport system, maintenance of parks and gardens, anti-social behaviour of shopkeepers in selling goods and vegetables at unreasonable prices, lack of adequate, parking, supply of text-books for school children, need for new schools in certain areas, shortage of fodder, rationing system, blackmarketing and hoarding, gambling, dowry system, wastage of food at weddings.

While this is only a very rough categorization, it does indicate a tendency to deal with problems facing all sectors of society.

From the beginning, Zoona Daaba avoided party politics. There were other programmes for news and political commentary. If politics was discussed at all by Zoona Daab, it was laughed at as long as it could be worked plausibly into family discussion. Only certain types of political behaviour received criticism, for example the large number of people accompanying the Chief Minister when he went on tour.

By maintaining a stance sympathetic to the man on the street and biased against the bureaucracy, the programme producers hoped to dossociate radio from its reputation of being a government mouthpiece. The early show, based on problems caused by government relocation, focused strictly on anti-bureaucracy items: the scarcity of drinking water, bad street lighting, problems with public transportation, health and education.

Later the station took advantage of its increasing popularity to criticize certain sectors of the public. For example, shows were written around the wasting of food at weddings, the anti-social behaviour of shopkeepers in selling goods and vegetables at unreasonable prices, black marketing, hoarding, gambling, adulteration in food stuffs and the dowry system.

Zoona Daab was taken off the air for a few months in 1971, officially because of 'declining popularity', a pretext belied by the favourable response to such surveys as were carried out; more likely the programme found disfavour at high political levels. Zoona Daab continues to be broadcast to this day, six days a week.

Chowla considers political backing to have been the most important ingredient of Zoona Daab's success. Never before had AIR received specific permission to launch a critical programme. The Chief Minister supported the programme. As a result, government officials reacted to the complaints broadcast.

This had two consequences. First, it caused people to take the programme seriously. They continued to write in about their problems, and were rewarded with physical proof of government response. Roads were mended, school books issued, street lights installed.

Second, it was perceived as an effective line of communication between the public and the elected representatives. Sadiq valued Zoona Daab's information to the extent of making a special effort to get clear reception for the show when he moved to Jammu each winter.

The programmes catered for Kashmir Valley's homogenous social system, borrowing heavily from familiar folklore, using street jargon, and addressing day-to-day problems. Unlike other state capitals, Srinagar is closely linked to the rural areas in terms of language and lifestyle.

Kashmiri is spoken by all residents of the valley, 93 per cent of whom are Muslims and therefore not split into a plethora of castes and sub-castes as are the Hindu communities. The 'radio family' lived and spoke like typical Kashmir residents. That people identified with it is evident from the many letter received monthly.

Widespread illiteracy heightens Kashmir's dependency on oral mass media. Even those who read rely on material published in Persian script, a medium seldom used by national papers.

While the distribution of radio sets in Kashmir is not higher than the national average, it has the third highest number of community radio sets per capital after Gujrat and Tamil Nadu and, incidentally, the largest number of community television sets per capital.

Zoona Daab had a convenient time slot in the daily programme. Both at 7.30 and at 9.00 in the morning, it caught the whole family at home before the beginning of the working day. Since it was sandwiched in between the news, many people automatically became exposed to it.

The programme's structure was flexible enough to allow the discussion of any event, topical or non-topical. If necessary, the staff worked overtime to accommodate fast breaking items.

Zoona Daab was also very entertaining. It brought humour, wit and traditional folklore to bear on events of topical interest. Part of its entertainment value grew from the novelty of being a show critical of the government.

Geographically, Kashmir is surrounded by mountains. People are closed in physically, which creates a siege mentality. They tend to think of themselves as a unit, considering the rest of India as being 'out there'.

Severe climatic conditions reinforce Kashmir's solidarity. Its residents, seeking shelter, are physically close to each other during the winter. As a result common subjects, customs and habits bind them more tightly than their counterparts in warmer states.

AIR has tried similar programmes elsewhere with negative or minor results. Yuv Vani, Nagar Ki Baten and others are mentioned in the general radio section. Prior to his Srinagar posting, Zoona Daab's director himself had failed to initiate a similar programme at Indore. He blames the heterogeneity of the audience and of the media. Radio was competing with half a dozen daily papers in its bid for attention from a clientele splintered by strong caste, religions and occupational affiliations. In his opinion, it would be difficult to replicate Zoona Daab's success elsewhere.

There was no direct access to Zoona Daab since the public chose neither the medium nor the format of the programme, although audience reactions reinforced certain elements of the show through the years. A degree of feedback took place in the form of messages between the listeners and the production staff.

People were free to suggest topics in writing. This admittedly excluded the illiterate majority unable to afford scribes. People were also welcomed to contact Zoona Daab in person. This meant travelling to Srinagar, for the telephone has yet to acquire mass usage in India.

Direct audience influence on Zoona Daab programming was out of the question, for the topics were chosen in the course of daily staff meetings, albeit based on letters from listeners as well as on current events deemed important to the community by the staff. Kashmir's linguistic homogeniety widened audience access. This was further extended by the use of colloquial language in the programme.

In summary, the public had only indirect access to Zoona Daab. It proposed the subject matter and it influenced the show's language. When Zoona Daab was taken off the air, listeners were also able to put enough pressure on the authorities to have the programme reinstated albeit as a six-day rather than a daily programme, and without the direct official backing enjoyed during its first few years.

Summary

Radio's Special Interest Programmes and Public Participation Programmes are but token gestures in the face of continuing negative repercussions from State monopoly of broadcasting. The key words in today's debate remain 'autonomy' and 'decentralization'. Presenting its report in 1976, the Working Group on Autonomy for Radio and Television recommended the

Broadcast Trust. Radical reforms were suggested in the area of community participation and access, including the installation of franchised stations. In the words of the Report:

> 'We would also envisage the "Station" as something more than a single studio-transmission complex, distant and seemingly exclusive or even inaccessible to the people it is intended to serve. Instead, we envisage, particularly at the local level a small and relatively simply equipped "mother station" with a cluster of small recording units and programming facilities around it which will help bring broadcasting to the people and the people to broadcasting, and not only through outdoor broadcasting vans. This consideration applies both to radio and television.'[22]

The ensuing public debate failed to elicit specific action, and the recommendations were officially rejected with the change of government in 1980.

The Public Participation Programmes and Special Group Programmes initiated by All India Radio, and to some extent by television, have failed to elicit public involvement in the production, let alone the planning and decision-making processes of broadcasting. This can be traced to several factors, including State control, a centrally dominated structure, economic underdevelopment, inadequate infrastructure, wide geographic audience dispersement, as well as social and linguistic fragmentation.

Most important, however, is the lack of political will. Without political backing, no community can effectively use a State-controlled medium. On the other hand, with political backing, it is possible to produce community programmes like Zoona Daab.

6. The role of print in the urban community

Print tends to support rather than initiate urban community work in India. It has been used in conjunction with other media such as plays, mime and posters. As the preceding sections have shown, printed or cyclostyled broadsheets have explained the work and philosophy of street-players, mobile theatre groups, and other organizations. Whether the broadsheets are handed out in Calcutta by Marxist-oriented street players, or in New Delhi by anti-dowry campaigners, they clarify the themes and orientations of such groups for their audiences. Literate observers can read the broadsheets to their illiterate companions at leisure after the shows.

Print is also integral to wall posters. If nothing else, it supplies a name and date for community meetings or events. Again, literate passers-by serve as interpreters for less-educated fellow pedestrians.

Newsletters, another form of print media, are used more or less successfully by socially active agencies, usually for educational purposes and, obviously, addressed to literate sectors of society.

As long as two-thirds of India's population remain illiterate, print-oriented media must be defined as elitist. This is particularly true of English and to a lesser extent of Hindi metropolitan newspapers, which have been shown to devote little coverage to 'City News' and even less to social issues.[1] A few provincial papers demonstrate some elements of participation and access.

Sakal is one paper which allows some choice and provides feedback from communities, thanks to its widespread use of local reporters stationed throughout Maharashtra.

Sakal, a 35-year old daily paper is printed in Pune, the second largest city in Maharashtra after Bombay. Its success is based on an independent attitude towards reporting: 'It seems to have deliberately rejected certain areas of activity ... but where it has chosen to concentrate its attention it leaves no stone unturned. These chosen areas are (a) local coverage and (b) civic life and community interests'.[2]

Each day scores of letters are exchanged between Sakal's head office in Pune, and its 'correspondents in the nooks and corners of Maharashtra'. Live contacts are also maintained through conferences, letters, the telephone and annual training camps to drill loyal correspon-

dents in reporting techniques. 'The result of all this activity is that Sakal's coverage of district news is unequalled in Marathi.'

Not only has Sakal made a point of drawing in the outlying items of news, but it has also evolved a simplified Marathi journalese. 'Those who care for chaste Marathi are often angry at the impurities of Sakal, but they grant that more people at the village level would be able to understand the language it uses'. [3]

India has among the lowest circulation rate of newspapers per head around the world. It stands at .013 per capita, as opposed to the .02 - .05 range of underdeveloped countries and the .4 - 1.5 range for small industrialized countries. India also has among the highest per capita production of newspapers: .0011 per head, as opposed to 00.19 in the United Kingdom and .0017 in Japan. [4] In 1975 alone, India produced a total of 12,423 newspapers. [5] This anomaly stems from the multiple subscriptions held by a select group of urban Indians, usually 'salaried employees, businessmen, professionals and propertied men'. [6]

Almost half of India's daily newspaper circulation--47.7 per cent--is metropolitan, most of it based in New Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. Despite its urban bias[7], however, the Indian press has yet to play a social role at the urban community level.

7. Conclusions

Problem-solving, participatory communication is still at the formative stage in India. None of the foregoing examples meet all the necessary conditions for urban community media. While they all show varying degrees of access and participation, self-management is almost non-existent and initiatives usually remain external to the community that they are meant to serve. Few of them are supportive of conscious and structured community programmes. Rather, they tend to be tentative and diffuse in concept and operation. Their emphasis is on general issues or problems of under-development and urban living conditions, not on problems specific to localities. This has generated little action directly attributable to media.

The main rationale for participatory radio and television programmes in India appears to be to enhance government and government-controlled media credibility. The only truly successful experience, Zoona Daab, grew out of a unique set of historical, social environmental and political conditions which cannot be readily replicated. The total rejection of the Verghese Committee Report on Autonomy for Radio and Television augurs ill for radio and television as community media in India.

Prohibitive publishing and newsprint expenses, as well as widespread illiteracy, curtail the scope of print media at the community level. Neither can video or other forms of group media significantly contribute to urban community work so long as import licences and other technological requirements raise their cost beyond the range of the average Indian.

Traditional media and street plays show the greatest potential for successful community experiences. Success implies social mobilization. This, in turn, presupposes political freedom or 'space'[1] within which to operate. Alternatively, urban community media groups can function within the system by using the compromise policy of 'planned brinkmanship'[2] -- a phrase coined by SAC to describe work within the confines of reality which gradually expands the given borders of political space.

Fundamental to all problems of urban community media in India is the concept of change. Without change, by definition, there can be no successful community media activity. Yet change presupposes political, economic and social disruptions in the lives of the privileged, hence the powerful, sectors of society.

On a more practical level, urban community media in India are hampered primarily by the lack of funds. Money indirectly underlies the state control of radio and television, the death of group media, and the concentration of newspapers in the hands of a few rich and powerful businessmen. While traditional media provide cheaper and less technical modes of communication, their traditional content often stresses Hindu values that contradict the concept of change. Most promising, therefore, are street plays and catalytic theatre.

Equally important to community work is its socio-economic context. In India, this applies particularly to the 'depressed poor' of whom Francis Berrigan has written:

> 'They are a group of people who have "missed out" on the benefits of development. They are locked into a traditional relationship with their socio-political environment which prevents their advancement. They feel depressed and oppressed, and apathy prevents them taking opportunities even when they exist.'[3]

All three case studies show the importance of establishing a rapport with the chosen community. Most successful has been the case of Zoona Daab, ironic in view of the political constraints facing all radios in India.

Successful mobilization usually involves strong personalities. Chowla influenced the direction of Zoona Daab. Similarly, without Roy and Roberge neither Jagran nor Chitrabani would exist in their present forms. Community rapport also depends on the people involved. Whereas Zoona Daab's audience included middle-class Kashmiris, Jagran and Chitrabani have worked mainly with urban slum residents. Given that apathy is born of fatigue and malnourishment, slum residents have fewer resources for participation than their better-fed counterparts.

In spite of all the social and economic constraints, urban community media seem to have established their validity in the Indian context. With the growing problems of this vast country and increasing beaucratic dominance, the process of change will necessarily be slow. A more active participation of the people in development communication will take a long time to come. Yet a small beginning has been made.

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Chapter 8

JAPAN

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JAPAN

		Page
1.	Introduction	143
2.	Print Community Media	144
	2.1 Community Newspapers	145
	2.2 Extra Editions of Political Party Newspapers	145
	2.3 Publicity Papers by Local Government	147
	2.4 Free Papers	148
	2.5 Community Magazines	149
3.	Electronic Community Media	150
	3.1 Community Broadcasting	150
	3.2 The Telephone	152
	3.3 Future Possibilities of Electronic Community Media	153
4.	Summary	156
5.	References	157

1. Introduction--Definitions and focus of the discussion

In the capitalist world, communication media are born and survive where there is a demand for information. Information demand, like economic demand, is an aggregate of various individual needs for information. There are two kinds of information demands. One is a demand for the transmission of information such as propaganda, advertising, publicity, etc., and the other is a demand to acquire information based upon individual's information-seeking motives. Information demand exists at various territorial levels; international, national, local and community levels.

On a community level there is a demand for transmitting propaganda, advertising and publicity to community residents. A demand also exists for the acquisition of information about community affairs or events which may be called 'community information.' A similar demand also exists for 'national information' and 'international information.' At each territorial level there are communication media that specialize in satisfying these particular information demands. These media are operated for various motives from profit-making, public service, to power-seeking.

A territorial classification of communication media is usually made in terms of their coverage area. 'International media' usually refer to the communication media serving areas beyond national borders; 'national media' usually refer to the communication media serving an entire nation; 'community media' usually refer to the communication media whose service area is limited to local communities.

Strictly speaking, the territorial classification of information and that of the media are not necessarily consistent. National media carry not only national information but also international, local and sometimes even community information. Roughly speaking, however, they may be said to be parallel, as people tend to seek national information in national media, local information in local media, and community information in community media. Such tendencies have been empirically demonstrated (see for example, Maejima, 1973: 37-38). A change in the 'ecology of communication media,' i.e. the distribution pattern of various territorial media is usually caused by two factors, namely, information demand and competition among different media.

It is conceivable that some communication media in traditional communities decline in number or disappear as the nation becomes more urbanized, people become more educated and more interested in national and international affairs than local or community affairs. It is also conceivable that some kind of community media grow and flourish as people come to have more leisure time and become interested in various entertainment events taking place in their communities. These are the changes caused by information demand factors. Similar changes can take place as a result of competition among various communication media. The telephone system, for example (which will have to be defined as an international or at least national communication system if we follow the formal criteria for the classification of communication media) has been used as an important community medium (Keller, 1977; Fujitake, 1979) replacing some traditional or more primitive types of community media such as regular community meetings and the wired radio-telephone system in rural Japan.

A similar situation is emerging in the use of videotex. One of the important findings obtained from the CAPTAIN experiments in Japan, which we shall discuss in detail later, was that people found this new medium most convenient when they wanted to obtain community information (Seisuke Komatsuzaki, open lecture at Keio University, 30 October, 1981). From a formal viewpoint videotex is obviously a national medium. Functionally, however, like the telephone, it is very likely to be used as a community medium possibly replacing, at least partially, community magazines, free papers and publicity papers by local governments. Such changes in the ecology of media are caused by media factors. In order to discuss the rise and fall, future feasibilities and viability of community media, it is important that we always bear in mind these two factors, i.e. information demand factors and media factors.

So far, we have referred to communities only as territorial units. It is often pointed out that some 'communities' are defined by shared interests or interactions that are outside any common geographical area. The academic community, the military community and business community are common examples of such non-territorial communities. An examination of media use by such groups would be interesting but is outside the scope of this paper. Here we shall focus on geographically-defined local communities, their inhabitants and the mixture of communication media that serve their needs.

This paper is divided into two sections: print community media and electronic community media. These two parts, however, are not independent. The younger medium can learn from the older. That is why the section on print community media is subtitled 'A model for electronic community media in the future.' At the same time, however, we must not overlook essential differences in the nature of these two media. After scrutinizing the present state of print community media in Japan, we discuss the essential differences between print and electronic media. Finally, we shall speculate about the future of, and recommendable policies for, the young and growing electronic community media.

2. Print community media--a model for electronic community media in the future

Print media consist of newspapers, magazines and books. However, 'community books', even if they exist, are almost negligible. Therefore, in this section we shall discuss only community newspapers and community magazines.

Newspapers can be classified into two groups, the general interest newspaper and the specialized newspaper. The general interest newspaper refers to the newspaper which satisfies the following three conditions. (1) It is published for the general public and not for people with special qualifications, backgrounds or interests. (2) It is sold and not distributed free of charge. (3) It carries a wide variety of news concerning political, economic, social and cultural affairs, and its news and articles are not limited to one or two special fields such as sports only or sports and show business, etc. The specialized newspaper refers to all the newspapers which do not satisfy the above three conditions. The structure of the newspaper industry in Japan is illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1: The Structure of the Japanese Newspaper Industry

General interest		Specialised	
	Number of titles		Number of titles
National newspapers	5	Sports newspapers	7
'Block' or regional newspapers	3	Political party newspapers	5
Prefectural newspapers	50-60	Trade papers	500-1000
*Community newspapers	about 2000	Group Organs	Unknown
(regularly published ones only)		Newsletters	Unknown
		* Political party 'extras'	Unknown
		* Local government publicity papers	2000-3000
		* Free papers	Unknown

* Community focused publications

In Table 1, the four publications marked with an asterisk, i.e. community newspapers, local or community editions of political party (newspapers), publicity papers by local governments and free papers can be regarded as (territorial) community media. Trade papers and most group organs should probably be regarded as a different kind of community media, i.e. the media for special interest communities. However, as mentioned in the previous section, we shall not discuss these special interest community media in this article.

2.1 Community newspapers

There are five national newspapers in Japan. They have printing plants in various parts of the country and publish more than 120 local editions. The 'block' or regional newspaper covers a 'region' that is approximately one fourth to one eighth of the entire country. Prefectural newspapers generally cover one entire prefecture. The prefectures are the second largest governmental administrative units in Japan and correspond roughly to a state in the United States or Lander in Germany. There are 47 prefectures in Japan. There is at least one prefectural newspaper in each prefecture, and in some large prefectures there are several prefectural newspapers competing with each other. The fact that there is at least one prefectural newspaper in each prefecture in Japan is not accidental. This is a result of the wartime newspaper policies for public opinion control and paper saving. In 1941 the government enacted a law to force small local newspapers to consolidate on a one-prefecture basis. Today, this pattern is still followed in most of Japan's 47 prefectures.

The community paper usually refers to the newspaper whose service or coverage area does not go beyond one community. However, one of the serious problems in classifying general newspapers according to the size of their coverage area is that there is overlapping coverage. This has been a problem even between national and 'block' papers and between 'block' and prefectural papers. However, it is even more serious between prefectural and community papers. In Table 1, those newspapers whose coverage areas are not large enough to be regarded as a 'prefectural paper' are classified as community papers. However, some of them cover one third or one fourth of one prefecture, in which there are several or more communities. Such newspapers may in fact be too large to be called 'community' newspapers in the more formal sense of the term.

Another problem in identifying community newspapers is that there are no official statistics about them. Postwar Japan's policy toward the press is basically laissez-faire, therefore there is a paucity of government statistics covering the newspaper industry. Both the Nihon Shimbun Kyokai (Japan Newspaper Publishers and Editors Association--the number of member companies was 162 as at 1980) and the Nihon Chiho Shimbun Kyokai (Japan Local Newspaper Publishers and Editors Association--the number of member companies was 163 as at 1980) have regular contact with several hundred community newspaper companies (as well as another several hundred publishers of political party and other group organs, trade papers and newsletters). However, according to the experts in Japan, those companies on their lists are only a small part of the whole (Tamura, 1976A: 343-348 for community papers: Nishiura and Nakamura, 1976: 73-76 for trade papers and group organs).

Tamura did a census survey of community newspapers in Japan twice in 1967 and 1972. He defined a community newspaper as a newspaper which satisfies the following five conditions: (1) News and articles of general interest. (2) Area of coverage smaller than entire prefecture. (3) Published regularly and more frequently than once a month. (4) Sold and not delivered free of charge. (5) Not a member of the Japan Newspaper Publishers and Editors Association. The number of newspapers which satisfied these five conditions were 1083 in the 1967 survey and 1993 in the 1972 survey (Tamura, 1976A: 345). According to Tamura, if we add those newspapers which are published irregularly or less frequently than once a month, the number of titles of community newspapers in Japan reaches several thousand (Tamura, 1979A: 81). The number of cities, towns and villages in Japan as of 1981 is 3255 (cities-- 649, towns --1992, villages--614). Therefore, on the average there is in Japan at least one community newspaper in each community.

According to the questionnaire survey of community paper publishers also conducted by Tamura in 1967, 77.2 per cent of the respondents gave as the first priority of their editing policy the supplementation of larger mass media (71.8 per cent referred to supplementing reporting, 4.7 per cent editorials and 0.7 per cent entertainment and practical information). Only 4.7 per cent of the publishers surveyed answered that their basic policy was to replace the mass media (Tamura, 1976A: 48).

2.2 Extra editions of political party newspapers

There are five major political parties in Japan, and all of them publish party newspapers on a daily or weekly basis. These major party newspapers are edited and published mainly for

party members and sympathizers. The party newspapers are basically national media, or we may say national special interest community media. The two largest party newspapers in Japan, the Aka Hata (Red Flag) of the Japan Communist Party and the Kohmei Shimbun of the Kohmei Party (a party supported by a new Buddhist sect) not only have elaborate local sections but also are edited and printed locally. However, large national newspapers such as the Asahi and the Yomiuri also have local sections, editions and printing factories. What makes the party newspapers different from commercial national newspapers and allows them to function as community media is the special editions (extras) they publish at a community level during election campaigns. At election time, tens of millions of copies of locally edited extras of party newspapers are delivered free of charge to the mailbox of each household or handed out in the streets.

In order to reduce election costs, the number of fliers, handbills and handouts that one candidate can deliver during his election campaign is limited by the election law. However, there are no restrictions on the publication of 'extras' by newspapers including those of the political parties. Therefore, these 'extras' during the election campaign period are, in fact, disguised fliers and handbills. The number of these printed materials, including the legally allotted number of handbills, delivered during the election campaign period is enormous. They are often called 'paper bombs,' which reminds us that an election in Japan is certainly a kind of war. The amount of this material (Tamura, 1976B: 171) produced for the Tokyo Metropolitan Congressional election in 1973, for example, is shown in Table 2.

Table 2: Handbills and extras printed during the election campaign (Tokyo Metropolitan Congressional Election 1973)

	Allotted handbills (million copies)	Extras of party organs (million copies)
Liberal Democratic Party	10	70
Socialist Party	10	26
Kohmei Party	10	45
Democratic Socialist Party	2.2	21

Unfortunately, data for the Japan Communist Party which is said to have started this 'paper bomb' campaign in Japan were not available. The number is estimated to be about the same as that of their two powerful rivals, the Liberal Democratic (conservative, pro-capitalist and ruling) Party and the Kohmei (Buddhist, tradition-oriented) Party.

Most of these campaign handbills carried the party's slogans and propaganda on the front side and each candidate's beliefs and promises on the reverse side. Therefore, it is difficult to categorize by the kind of the front page, two or three kinds of handbills (the kind is restricted to three by law) and ten to fifteen kinds of extras were published and delivered during this election campaign. Although the total number of copies of the Communist Party handbills is about the same as that of the Liberal Democratic Party, it is said that the Communist's handbills are the most elaborate. For example, at a by-election for a member of the House of Councillors held in Osaka in 1973, the Communist Party is reported to have published more than forty different kinds of handbills and extras. They changed the content of their handbills not only from time to time but also according to their target, e.g. housewives, farmers, shopkeepers, blue collar workers, white collar workers, doctors, youth, women workers, etc. They even produced a special edition for the handicapped (Tamura, 1976B: 168-170).

If we simply sum the numbers of copies of handbills and extras in Table 2, the figure comes to 194.2 million copies. If we add to this the Communist Party estimate, it comes to about 250 million copies. This means that on the average each household in Tokyo received more than 80 handbills and extras during the month-long election campaign. Of course, not all the handbills and extras printed were delivered or handed out. Some part must have been left in storehouses and disposed of without being delivered or handed out. Many of them were handed out on the streets, in front of railroad stations, and thus soon thrown away. This election may

have been the most extreme case, and yet these figures symbolize the overheated 'handbill war' in recent Japanese elections.

Another feature of this war is that various 'newspapers' spring up overnight before important elections and disappear after the elections are over. Some of them are ad hoc but conscientious media created by smaller political parties or citizens' groups. However, many of them are used as 'stalking horses' or 'black propaganda' in the handbill war.

The effect of these bills and extras on the attitudes of voters is highly questionable. Despite the massive volume, or probably because of the massive volume, it is very likely that they cancel each other out and the total effect is neutral. However, it is very probable that they have agenda-setting effects. Although, unfortunately, there is no empirical study on the effects of election campaign bills, it is probable that these bills and extras make people conscious of where the problems are and what must be considered seriously in voting. The campaign bills and extras often deal with local and/or community problems because they are the problems about which the general masses are often most concerned--the problems of housing, schooling, roads, railroads, subsidies from the central government, etc. Handbills and extras are a special kind of community media in that they are ad hoc and impermanent. However, once every two or three years they appear as powerful campaign and propaganda media, reminding us of various local and community problems which we are usually unaware of and tend to overlook.

2.3 Publicity papers by local governments

Publicity papers published by local governments are a unique form of Japanese community media. As mentioned previously there are 47 prefectures and 3255 cities, towns and villages in Japan each of which has a government or administrative office. Most of these local governments publish and deliver a free monthly or bimonthly newspaper. The contents vary, but ordinarily they will include reports on local government activities, financial reports, news about public services and schedules, advice on local taxes, new books available in the libraries, announcements on meetings, sporting events, parades, festivals and other events.

These publicity papers fulfil several functions. They not only carry publicity about the government but also contain information intended to contribute to the formation and reinforcement of community consciousness or love of community among community members. Such information includes news about voluntary groups in the community, articles about the history of the community, essays and poems by citizens and letters to the editor.

Compared with the citizens of some other countries such as the United States, the Japanese are rather tolerant towards government publicity activities. The reasons for this are both historical and cultural. Historically, Japanese society, particularly on the community level, has always had some communication system that transmits governmental messages directly to each household. Before publicity papers became popular there was a system called kairanban (literal translation is 'circulating board'). This kairanban system still remains in many communities in Japan. Messages from the (usually local) government are written on sheets of papers, attached to a hard paper board called kairanban. Of course many copies of kairanban are necessary to circulate the message in the community within a limited period. Within each community there are smaller corporate societies such as chonaikai or tonarigumi (which may be translated as 'neighbours' co-operative'), and kairanban are circulated through such organizations. Each household knows the route of circulation, and after reading the message and signing the board, each household takes the kairanban to the next house on the route.

The cultural reason for tolerance of government publicity activities lies in the Japanese emphasis on harmony and consensus. This results in a closely knit, interdependent society where communication between various sectors of society is considered to have vital importance. In Japan there is probably more communication between the various sectors of society, for example between labour and management, government and industry, industry and banks, industry and academics, academics and government than in other countries. Even journalists are occasionally invited to join some government agency's advisory board. The attempt to foster harmony and interdependence among heterogeneous elements characterizes many aspects of Japanese culture from fine art to the design of gardens. The relationship between the government and the public is considered in a similar framework. On the other hand, this emphasis

is only a matter of degree, and the idea of 'Japan Incorporated' is misleading. Certainly, the extreme idea which reportedly exists in contemporary Europe that Japan is a kind of socialist or communist state is obviously wrong.

The concert of 'public relations' is said to have been born in the late nineteenth century United States. However, it seems that the concept has found ideal cultural soil in the Japanese society where harmony, concensus and interdependence are so emphasized. Keiji Miura, for example, a professor of public relations conducted a survey on public relations activities by local governments in the Midwest of the United States in 1977. In his book published upon his return to Japan he comments that he was surprised to find that many aspects of public relations activities by U.S. local governments were 'behind' Japanese practices or at least were less elaborate than in Japan despite the fact that public relations has such a long history in the United States (Miura, 1979). The Japanese, however, cannot be too proud of this fact because as many Americans repeatedly warn in Miura's book, public relations activities by (even local) governments can be undemocratic and dangerous.

Despite such potential danger, publicity papers published by local Japanese governments seem to provide useful information that can help community members to make their lives more comfortable, efficient and economical. Many public surveys, in fact, show that publicity papers by local governments are well read in Japan particularly among housewives. For example, in one public opinion survey conducted by the Gifu prefectural government in 1971, 1,060 adult men and women were asked the following question: 'Our mobile clinic for cancer is visiting all the communities in this prefecture for the prevention of cancer. Did you know about this?' The result was: Yes--84.3%, No--15.7%. Respondents who answered 'yes' were further asked the source of their knowledge. The result (multiple answer) was: Kairanban--39.5%; publicity papers--32.5%; newspaper--8.4%; television or radio--5.7%; wired radio and telephone system*--2.5%; other means--9.5% (Public Relations Division, Prime Minister's Office, 1974-244). As indicated in this result, the publicity paper edited, published and delivered by local governments was an important source of community information in Japan.

2.4 Free papers

The print community media we have discussed so far--community newspapers, campaign handbills and extras and publicity papers by local governments--have political functions in the community. However, the free papers and the community magazines which we discuss in this and following sections are commercially oriented and almost completely apolitical.

The free paper, as the name indicates, is delivered free of charge. This means that it depends almost entirely upon advertising for its revenue. It carries advertisements of shops, stores, restaurants, training schools, classified ads and personal ads for various purposes. However, it is not just a collection of advertisements. It carries all kinds of 'living information,' or, what we will define as information useful in everyday life. 'Living information' includes information about bargain sales in local stores, cultural and sports events in the community, articles about voluntary groups and hobby circles, medical and legal consultation by local doctors and lawyers, recipes, articles about child rearing and gardening and a movie guide. The free paper also includes essays and poems by community members, interviews and letters to the editor. As mentioned before, free papers are almost completely apolitical, and most of them do not carry political articles or news reportage.

In some countries, the United States for example, free papers also called 'shoppers' or 'advertisers' are usually piled up at the counter of drug stores or special stands installed on

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* The wired radio and telephone system is a unique, low-cost, technologically rather primitive communication system in rural Japan. It was invented in Japan in 1935 and was once very popular in rural communities. However, it is now rapidly being replaced by ordinary radio sets and individual telephones. For more information about this system, see Institute of Journalism, University of Tokyo (1981: 105-130).

the street, and people ick them up by choice. In Japan, however, most free papers are delivered to each household. However, because they are delivered to each household free of charge, there are few communities where the free paper is commercially profitable unless there is a relatively high population density, income level and propensity to consume. Such communities are found, naturally, in urban areas, particularly in the suburban 'new towns' or 'bedroom towns' where many white collar workers and middle class people live in apartments, condominiums and small standardized houses. Therefore, the free paper is usually an urban community media.

Free papers are published by not only community-based small companies but also large national and 'block' newspaper companies. These large newspaper companies entered this market in the early 1970s at first as a side line, but so far their free papers have been a successful and growing line of business. The free papers published by national and 'block' newspapers number about 10 titles, 50 editions and their combined circulation is about five million copies per week. Most of them are published once weekly (Tamura, 1979A: 96). Unfortunately, there are no statistics for the total circulation of free papers in Japan including those published by community-based small companies. Free papers started in Japan in the early 1960s, drastically increased in the early 1970s, and are still increasing in number (Tamura, 1979A: 90-98).

2.5 Community magazine

Community magazines, or 'town magazines' as they are often called, are community-based magazines published primarily for community members. There are many different kinds. The smaller ones are rather similar to free papers because they have only a few pages and are given away by the stores, shops and banks that support them. In the case of large community magazines, however, the distinction is clear.

For example, Pia, the largest community magazine in Japan, consisted of 283 pages in November 1981 and sold at ordinary bookstores for 230 yen (about one U.S. dollar). Pia is published in Tokyo, once every two weeks, and its circulation is reportedly 300,000 copies. Its inaugural issue was published in 1973. Another large community magazine, City Road (circulation, 200,000 copies) is also published in Tokyo once monthly, and is also sold in ordinary bookstores for 200 yen. It was inaugurated in 1972.

These magazines are quite sophisticated and look like national weekly magazines. However their contents are distinctly different. First of all, the basic ideas and policies behind these community magazines are completely different from those of conventional magazines. People ordinarily buy conventional magazines expecting to be entertained directly by the articles in them. In the case of community magazines such as Pia and City Road, however, people buy them for information concerning what to buy or where to go to be entertained. For example, the November 1981 issue of City Road consisted of six sections (altogether 154 pages) listing (1) movies, (2) music, (3) plays, (4) art, (5) sports and (6) books and miscellaneous. In each section the magazine provided detailed schedules of all the movie theatres, concert halls, play houses, art galleries, museums, sports stadiums and libraries in the community, with maps showing their locations. In general, such magazines cover not only events in town but also those held on university campuses, such as film showings, play performances, music concerts and open lectures. Furthermore, they cover not only regular events but also special events such as festivals, fairs and exhibitions, fashion shows and even dance parties. Each section carries many reviews of new films, records, music groups, plays, art exhibitions, books and so forth. In the last few pages they provide a handy summary of reviews and make recommendations and suggestions concerning events in all sections taking place during the month. In short, community magazines provide information concerning what to buy, where to go, what to see or hear, on which day, how, at what time and how much it will cost.

As mentioned before, both Pia and City Road are published in Tokyo. That is why they have such large circulations. Community magazines published in smaller cities naturally can not expect such large circulations. There are some community magazines whose circulations are only several hundred. According to the estimates by Norio Tamura, there are some 400 community magazines in Japan and their average circulation is about 10,000 copies. Since most of them are monthlies, the total circulation of all community magazines in Japan reaches about four million copies per month (Tamura, 1979A: 146).

Community magazines appeared in Japan in the mid-1950s, and like free papers, expanded rapidly in the early 1970s. Also like free papers, they are still expanding in both title and circulation. Again like free papers, they are apolitical and essentially urban community media. Both free papers and community magazines fit urban life styles. If there is a difference, it is their target readers. The main targets of free papers are housewives whereas that of community magazines are young, single men and women with abundant leisure time looking for fun.

3. Electronic community media--Technology leads but people do not follow

We must begin this section with the following question: Do or can any genuine electronic community media exist on this earth? As long as we think of community media in formal terms, i.e. their territorial coverage area and not in functional terms, the writer's answer to this question is in the negative. The reason lies in the basic nature of electronic media. In the case of electronic media, equipment costs are high, but distribution costs are low. On the contrary, in the case of print media, equipment costs can be low, but distribution costs are high. Therefore, electronic media are more suited to cover a wide area, whereas print media are more suited to cover a small area. Therefore, the print media are more suitable as community media than electronic media.

However, electronic media have various advantages as compared with print media, and as long as people have needs for 'community information,' i.e. information about their community, it is very probable that (formally) national electronic media will come to be used functionally, like community media. As mentioned at the beginning of this article, the telephone is a good example. Although the telephone is formally a national or international communication medium, it is functionally used as an important community medium, It is possible that tomorrow broadcasting will become like the telephone today. Technology will probably enable us to use a part of national broadcasting networks for community communication. Or, in reverse, electronic media developed as community media such as CATV will probably grow into national networks. In this case also, both national and community media coexist in the same system. Therefore, in the case of the electronic media, it is important to discuss community media from a functional viewpoint, i.e. how they are used, rather than a formal viewpoint, i.e. their coverage area.

3.1 Community broadcasting

The number of originating broadcasting stations (excluding transmission stations) as of 1979 is shown in Table 3. All these stations originate local programmes.

Table 3: Broadcasting stations originating programmes (in 1979)

	TV only	Radio only	TV & Radio
NHK (public broadcasting)	---	---	70
Commercial Broadcasting	57	17	36

The Japanese television and radio network systems are too complicated to explain here. Let us focus our attention on local broadcasting only. As mentioned before, there are 47 prefectures in Japan. There is at least one NHK (Japan Broadcasting Corporation) local station in each prefecture which is engaged in local broadcasting in television (about 1.5 hours per day) and radio (about 2 hours on AM and 1.75 hours on FM). NHK has two national television networks and three national radio networks (two AM and one FM). Among these five networks, one television and one radio network are purely educational in nature, and there is no local time on these two networks.

As for commercial stations, there is one VHF station, one UHF station and one AM radio station in each prefecture. (There are only four commercial FM stations in Japan as a whole. Unfortunately, there are no data covering average local broadcasting time for commercial stations. In the Japanese broadcasting system, commercial stations are expected to be more locally-oriented than NHK. In fact, in radio, commercial stations' local broadcasting hours are

generally much longer (in some large stations twice as long as)than those of NHK local stations. In television, however, there is not much difference except in some independent commercial stations in the three large metropolitan areas, i.e., the Tokyo, Osaka and Nagoya areas, where there are more than four commercial stations. (There are four commercial television networks in Japan). In these independent commercial TV stations, the percentage of local hours is much higher than in NHK or commercial network affiliated TV stations.

Although many public and commercial local radio and television stations are broadcasting locally-originated programmes, it is difficult to regard them as 'community' media. First of all, most broadcasting stations in Japan are organized so that each of them covers one entire prefecture (except those network affiliated VHF stations in the above-mentioned three metropolitan areas. In these areas one station covers several prefectures). In many cases, however, radio and television broadcasts spill over to other prefectures.

Therefore, each local station actually covers an area larger than just one prefecture. As mentioned before, the standard prefecture has four broadcasting stations, one NHK, two commercial television and one commercial radio station. They do not divide the territory, but are competing in the same territory, i.e., one entire prefecture.

One entire prefecture is too large to be called a community, and no local broadcasting stations focus on just one or two communities. Generally speaking, however, as the coverage area of the media becomes smaller, the possibility of a certain community's problems or concerns receiving media attention increases. Thus, local stations are more accessible than national media in their coverage area. There is a greater probability that community problems will be documented, and that the events of community's concern such as festivals or sporting events will be televised. In this sense, although local over-the-air broadcasting stations are in some respects a community medium, the CATV system, whose coverage area is usually one or two communities, is closer to the ideal electronic community media.

As at March 1981, there were 28,113 CATV systems in Japan. They served 3,005,557 households, or 10.3 percent of all households in the nation. The main use of CATV in Japan is to improve the reception of programmes. Out of more than 28,000 systems only 62 originated their own programmes as of March, 1981. These 62 systems served only 134,132 households, or 4.5 per cent of the audience of cable television. The rest are used solely either to get clearer pictures or to fill the channel difference between urban and rural areas.

In the late 1960s and the early 1970s there occurred a 'CATV boom' in Japan when many communication experts eagerly insisted that soon all television sets at home would become wired and that conventional over-the-air television would become outdated, inaugurating the age of 'wired city' or 'wired country'. Stimulated by such rosy predictions, many big businesses feverishly invested a great amount of capital in the cable television industry. Many new types of cable system were established particularly in metropolitan areas. However, many of them failed and went bankrupt. The age of 'wired city' has not come as soon as predicted. Nowadays most Japanese communication experts are quite pessimistic about the future of cable systems.

Many experts believe that CATV has not succeeded in Japan because it was defeated in the competition with UHF stations. The steady increase of UHF stations improved reception conditions of many areas filling, at the same time, the channel difference among different areas. Unfortunately, experiences shows that people are unwilling to pay for local or community programmes, they will only pay for clearer pictures or more channels for entertainment. After UHF, will come SHF and direct satellite broadcasting both of which provide programmes free of charge.

Thus the age of CATV or 'wired city' may never come. The experts see the wider diffusion of cable systems in Canada and the United States as a special case. Canadians appear to subscribe to cable television primarily to improve the reception of American programmes. Furthermore, both Canada and the United States are vast countries; therefore, the problems of poor reception and channel gap in rural areas are more serious than in a country like Japan which has a much higher population density in metropolitan areas that are closer together. (see, for example, Tomita, 1981: 62).

There are also some experts who remain discreetly optimistic. They point out that although cable systems have not spread as rapidly as predicted, they continue to expand both in number and coverage. In the past several years the number of systems have been increasing at a rate of ten per cent and the total diffusion is growing by one per cent every year. The U.S. cable system went through a period of retrenchment after its early optimistic projections and is only now beginning to grow again. Japan plans to launch a domestic communication satellite in 1984. Then, as in the United States in 1976, Japan's CATV systems may form a national network using the satellite. If this new type of national network provides attractive, entertaining programmes, this may attract more subscribers.

Other grounds for optimism may be found in the increased number of people who are learning to produce video programmes. If we look closely at community print media, we find that much of their content is provided by volunteers. This reduces their costs considerably. At the present time it is rather costly for local cable systems to originate their own programmes. However, if more volunteers come forward, it may be possible to reduce such costs. In the United States the number of such volunteers (called 'video freaks' because of their enthusiasm) has made local programming possible in a number of cities. The same is taking place in Japan as well.

Despite the dramatic failure of some large-scale CATV ventures in the early 1970s and the ensuing pessimism, it may be safe to predict that cable systems will slowly but steadily increase in Japan. They will eventually form a national network to provide entertainment programmes and at the same time, some of the channels will be used for community communication. As we have seen in print community media, demand for community communication or community information certainly exists. If certain technological and economic conditions are satisfied, it is very probable that a unique electronic community medium could be born and develop. Cable television certainly has the most promise of growing into such an electronic community medium.

3.2 The telephone

As Pool (1977) and Fujitake (1979) point out, the telephone has had a widespread impact on society. However, as both books emphasize, social scientific studies on the social impact and function of the telephone have been scarce.

In modern societies, person to person communication on the community level heavily depends upon the telephone. According to statistics, about 70 per cent of all telephone calls in Japan are local calls (Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications, 1978: 172), which in Japan means calls within the same city, town or village. At election time the telephone is used for campaigning. This is an example that the telephone is used as 'information transmission' media on the community level. If something suddenly happens in the community, a stoppage of electricity or water supply, explosion, earthquake, etc., many people rush to their telephones, and the telephone system in the area often becomes overloaded. We also call shops in the community to ask if they have a particular item. We call the railroad station, a bus company or a movie theatre asking for their schedules. These are the examples that the telephone is used as an 'information acquiring' medium on the community level. In addition to such practical use, some people use the telephone for entertainment to enjoy conversation or to kill time. All such usage takes place at the community level; people seldom make long-distance calls for these purposes.

Furthermore, the telephone is institutionalized as a communication medium at the community level. Emergency telephone lines to police and fire department are classical examples. Recently telephone lines for other kinds of local emergency calls have been created. 'Telephone for babies,' for example, accepts questions concerning baby rearing from young inexperienced mothers and give them appropriate advice. 'Telephone for life' is a public service for people suffering from neurosis, depression and other mental disturbances. A specialist listens to their problems and gives them appropriate advice free of charge. In some large cities, the police have a special direct line for delinquent or problem juveniles so they can call when they have a problem or need help. This is not a line to dispatch a patrol car but for consultation by experienced social workers.

Although temporary, various other national and local government agencies as well as private citizens' groups have installed 'hot lines' to accept citizen complaints about noise, pollution, false or misleading advertisements and other problems. There was even a 'hot line' offering sex counselling for teen-agers. Most of these telephone services are community-based. In this way, the telephone, as a community medium, has played an important role in the community's politics, economy and social life.

3.3 Future possibilities of electronic community media

Technological development during the past ten years in the field of micro-electronic technology has been remarkable. Advances in integrated circuiting and other basic technologies not only helped produce new kinds of communication equipment but also revived old sleeping technologies such as facsimile and digital transmission. Now it seems that we are about to enter an era when new communication media emerge and flourish. According to Kazuhiko Goto, a communication technology expert at the NHK Radio & TV Culture Research Institute, in the field of broadcasting alone, as many as twenty-five new types of service are conceivable (Open lecture at Keio University, 13 November 1981). Seisuke Komatsuzaki, another communication technology expert at the Research Institute of Telecommunications and Economics, classifies the major 'new media' under discussion in three categories; (1) point-to-point type, (2) request type and (3) participation type, and predicts that commercialization will take place in this order (Komatsuzaki, 1979: 3-7: Also, open lecture at Keio University, 30 October, 1981). Let us look into these 'new media', focusing on those considered promising as future community media.

(a) Point-to-point new media

Point-to-point new media include facsimile, electronic mail, video telephone and data telephone. Facsimile was offered on a commercial basis in Japan in 1971. Since then, the amount of facsimile equipment has increased at the rate of 20 to 30 per cent every year. In recent years even small business and retail shops have been installing such equipment. Although ordinary citizens can install a home facsimile as simply as a telephone set by just calling a nearby office of NTT (Nippon Telephone and Telegraph Corporation), the diffusion rate of home facsimile is still negligible. Electronic mail, an adaptation of facsimile, comes between telegram and special delivery express mail in terms of both speed and cost, was commercially available in Japan in 1980. The video telephone is not offered on a commercial basis in Japan. It was introduced in the United States in the early 1970s, but has apparently failed because of psychological resistance. This is said to be the chief reason for Japan's hesitation to commercialize the video telephone. Experts feel that people may not be ready for the video telephone yet, but it may be accepted when combined with data telephone and home facsimile (for example, Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications, 1978A: 45: Komatsuzaki, 1979: 6-7). The data telephone is a telephone through which data communication is possible. For example, one can pay a bill by transferring from one's bank account into the creditor's account by feeding one's credit card or cash card issued by the bank into the data telephone at home. Also, one can check one's own bank balance in the same way; a computer voice tells the balance. Although such service is not yet available for private homes, some credit card companies have already adopted this service in chain stores and restaurants.

Among the new point-to-point media, home facsimile probably shows the greatest promise as a future community medium. One of the important findings obtained by the Tama CCIS Community Cable Information System, experiment that began in 1976 in Tama New Town, a suburb of Tokyo was that the service most highly evaluated by the experimented households was the 'memo-copy' service (Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications, 1978B: 52). This service was provided through a small facsimile terminal installed in each house. Terminals were connected to the CATV centre, and anyone could send hard copy (printed) messages to (1) all the households, (2) part of the households or (3) particular one household in the community. The most frequent users of this service during the course of the experiment were the local government and local stores, particularly supermarkets. The shops publicized sales and the government used the service to publicize disruptions in services, announce collective health check-ups and appeal for blood donations. Community groups used the service to announce meetings and agendas. This 'memo-copy service' served the same needs that had been previously met by conventional community information transmission media such as kairanban publicity papers, free papers and the telephone. Because it was more convenient,

it actually replaced some of these services. This 'memo-copy service,' however, is completely different from the NTT's home facsimile service which is already commercially available. It is a part of highly sophisticated, interactive CATV system which, according to Komatsuzaki, belongs to the 'participation type', commercialization of which is predicted as the last among the three types of new media. Therefore we do not know yet when and how this 'memo-copy service' will become commercially available in Japan.

(b) Request type media

Videotex and teletext broadcasting are the most important request type media. Both were first commercially introduced in Britain, but due to the complicated letters and characters of the Japanese language, Japan had to develop a rather different system. Japan's videotex system is named CAPTAIN which is an acronym for 'Character and Pattern Telephone Access Information Network' System. The first CAPTAINexperiment was conducted in Tokyo with 1,000 terminals and with 98,944 pages* of data base during the period from December 1979 to March 1981. The expanded second stage of the CAPTAIN experiment still continues. MPT (Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications) and NTT are planning to commercialize this system by early 1983.

One of the findings we obtained from the first CAPTAIN's experiment was that people found the system convenient to get community information, particularly the kind of information contained in community magazines (Komatsuzaki, open lecture at Keio University, 30 October, 1981. Pia magazine participated in this experiment by supplying information. Therefore, although videotex, like the telephone, is a national medium from a formal viewpoint, it is very likely that it will also come to be used as a community medium.

Several kinds of teletext services have been tested in field experiments. In the Tama CCIS, a 'flash information service' and a 'still picture request service' were provided for participants. At Hi-OVIS (Highly Interactive Visual Information Service) a study conducted near Nara city since 1978, a 'video request service' and a 'still picture service' were also evaluated. The 'flash information service' provides requested information superimposed over whatever programme was currently appearing on the television screen. Viewers could select various types of community information; weather forecasts, train and bus schedules, lists of hospitals and clinics and their schedules, and schedules for movie theatres and other entertainment. The 'still picture request service' offered various categories of pictures from a 35 mm slide library at the viewers' request on a separate channel. The 'video request service' offered various categories of broadcast programmes or films from a video cassette library at the viewers' request. All these requests were made using a keyboard attached to each subscriber's television set.

How did viewers evaluate these services? The 'flash information service' ranked fifth among nine different new services experimented in the Tama CCIS experiment, but the 'still picture request service' was last. A survey conducted among participants before the experiment began indicated that a 'still picture request service' might be among the most popular of the new services. Its low rating indicates that something may have been wrong with the service when it was actually delivered. Such findings raise several questions about the introduction of new media.

First, it is apparent that any medium of the 'request type' or 'participation-type' will require new skills of participants. They will have to use some kind of keyboard to request or participate. This involves an expenditure of effort that some people may not be willing to make. New media may offer a more efficient way to gather information, but users must acquire a new skill to access it. They may not be willing to expend the effort. This is particularly true where conventional media that meet the same need still exist. If such media are to succeed, their users must be accustomed to using a keyboard or other mechanism to obtain information.

A second impediment to request-type services is the size of their data bases. The still picture libraries at Tama CCIS and Hi-OVIS were probably not large enough to be worth the

* It increased to 303,254 pages by the end of the first stage experiment in March 1981.

effort viewers had to expend to access them. Since it is doubtful that local communities will have enough resources to build really large data bases, they will probably have to be linked to some larger and richer data base such as the CAPTAIN system. This raises certain questions about local autonomy, which will be discussed later.

(c) Participation-type media

Participation type media are those in which ordinary people, viewers for example, can participate on a regular basis. There are three ways to participate in these new media: (1) participation in programme planning, (2) actual programme production and (3) participating in particular programmes. In whichever case, participation on a regular basis is possible only at the community level.

The Tama CCIS evaluated two participatory services, an 'automatic repetition telecasting service' and a 'broadcast and response service.' The telecasting service was for participation in production. The process and procedure of producing a programme were extremely simplified so that anyone could walk into the cable centre and produce a programme with some help from the staff. The length of a programme was limited to 15 minutes. The station classified those programmes produced by ordinary citizens according to their subject matter, and televised them four times a day.

The 'broadcast and response service' was for participation in particular programmes, and it is almost the same as the two-way television service provided by QUBE of Columbus, Ohio, in the USA. Viewers could participate in the live television programme either through a microphone or a small keyboard connected to their television sets. There were five selection buttons on each keyboard, and viewers could express opinions by pushing one of the buttons corresponding to the alternative opinions about the issue being discussed. Viewers' responses were transmitted back to the station, processed by a computer, and the results (the percentages of choices) were instantly shown on the television screen. Also, viewers could express their opinions vocally using the microphone connected to their television sets, and participate in the discussion in the live television programme. These 'access programmes' (usually 30 minutes) were produced every week and broadcast once or twice a week. Various discussion programmes on local issues, quiz shows, contest shows and educational programmes, particularly language programmes, were produced for this service.

In the cases of the Tama CCIS and QUBE of the United States, feedback from viewers was possible only by a keyboard and/or microphone. However, in the case of Hi-OVIS, a small camera was installed on the television set of each household, and viewers could join a live television programme, not only through voice or button operation, but also with their own image. Therefore, a person in the studio and a viewer, or different viewers in separate houses, could have discussions on a live television programme looking at each other on the screen.

As for the participation in programme planning, various attempts have been made in Japan's 62 cable systems to involve the public in programme planning and design. Unfortunately, public participation in such projects has not yet evolved to the point where results can be generalized.

Both in the Tama and Hi-OVIS experiments, people were at first fascinated by the idea of participating in live television programmes. However, it did not take much time before they became bored. The ideas of the few staff members for production of programmes were soon exhausted. This, as a matter of fact, has repeatedly happened in many small cable systems that originate their own programmes. Many cable stations in Japan have given up originating programmes because of exhaustion, although many others have started or restarted such efforts. Perhaps more serious is the lack of economic demand. It is said that in order to sustain a highly sophisticated two-way cable system such as Hi-OVIS, the monthly subscription fee would have to be 7,000 to 10,000 yen (35 to 50 U.S. dollars). Questionnaire surveys clearly revealed that people would not pay such a high subcription fee for the services provided by Tama CCIS or Hi-OVIS however unique they might be. As in Canada and the United States, powerful entertainment incentives may be necessary to make the general masses buy local cable services.

Two things seem necessary to overcome the problems of participation media. The first is an increase in a new type of TV fans, i.e. not TV viewing lovers but TV production lovers. As we have already pointed out, if the 'video freaks' increase at the present pace, establishing fan clubs, production circles, etc., and their programmes become sophisticated enough to be put on CATV in their community, the problem of 'exhaustion' may be solved. Secondly, if further technological development leads to a drop in the monthly subscription fee perhaps to the level of NHK's receivers' fee, which is 880 yen or four U.S. dollars, people will certainly subscribe to CATV in their community.

Recently, the Agency for Natural Resources and Energy suggested a unique, and rather strange, idea. They announced that they would present a Hi-OVIS type CATV system to the communities which have accepted or which will accept the construction of a nuclear power plant. The combination of Hi-OVIS and a nuclear power plant is somewhat bizarre, but is symbolic of our time: in either case, technology goes ahead but people do not follow as expected.

4. Summary

In this chapter we first pointed out that the standards for territorial classification of information and media are different. Despite that, however, generally speaking, we usually seek national information in national media, local information in local media and community information in community media. In the second section, the section for print community media, we confirmed that public demands for community information certainly exist in various forms. As long as such demands exist, community media should survive.

As compared to the flourishing print community media, we pointed out that electronic community media were faced with many difficult problems. We suggested that one of the reasons might be that print media in nature are more suited as community media than electronic media because print media's equipment costs are low but delivery costs are high whereas the reverse is true for electronic media. As a matter of fact, these cost differences are rapidly increasing due to the rise of labour costs and transportation costs and the drop of electric signal delivery costs by the commercialization of communication and broadcasting satellites, coaxial and optical fibre cables, digital transmission, packet switching, microprocessors and so on. However, electronic media have too many varied and valuable possibilities to be given up as community media. This is the very reason why various policy measures have been taken to encourage the healthy growth of electronic community media. However, at least in Japan, electronic community media are still immature and feeble, and some even doubt their viability.

What we suggest in this respect is to think of electronic community media in functional terms instead of formal terms. As an example, we particularly emphasize the roles that the telephone has played at a community level. Using the telephone as a model, we have predicted that videotex, which is a national medium, will probably come to be used as a community medium. On the other hand, we have also indicated that cable systems, which are essentially community media, will eventually come to form a national network. There were two reasons for this. One is the fact that people are willing to pay for additional entertainment programmes but not for local or community programmes. The other was the problem of data base.

If we fully realize and appreciate the essential differences in the natures of print and electronic media to which we have repeatedly referred, the measures to be taken will not be to isolate electronic community media from each other but to encourage them to be connected to each other to form a national or international network. This does not mean, however, that each electronic community medium will or should lose its local autonomy. On the contrary, its autonomy should be maintained from the viewpoint of democracy, value pluralism, preservation and development of local cultures. Local autonomy is a political matter whereas the inherent tendencies of electronic media to be connected with each other to form a national network are economic and technological matters. What is suggested here with respect to the future of electronic community media is a kind of compromise between the political and cultural considerations on the one hand and economic and technological constraints and possibilities inherent in electronic media on the other. Even if local electronic media are to be connected with each other to form a national network, it should be possible for each of them to maintain autonomy and independence if the whole system is planned with this objective in mind.

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Chapter 9

LATIN AMERICA

by

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LATIN AMERICA

		Pages
1.	Background data	161
2.	Context and concepts of urban community communications	165
3.	Case Studies in urban community communication	167
	3.1 Audio-visual pedagogy for educational communication in Ceilandia, Brazil	167
	3.2 Cassette Forum	170
	3.3 Multi-media projects--People's Communication Centre, Lima	171
	3.4 Action-research-MOBRAL, the Santa Cruz Project	173
	3.5 Cultural development at Ajusco, Mexico, DF	176
	3.6 Participation of workers in the production of tape-slide, Brazil	177
4.	Obstacles and limitations	178
5.	Some Questions to stimulate discussion	183
6.	References	184

1. Background data

In Latin America at present there are 30 countries recognized as Republics. A United Nations survey of 1978, covering 23 countries, showed a population of 343.5m, a figure which is expected to double by the end of the century. The average annual rate of total population growth was 2.7 in 1975.

The average annual growth rate of the urban population in localities with more than 20,000 inhabitants has been around 4 1/2 per cent since 1950. In 1970, the percentage of the total population in localities with 20,000 or more was 41.1 and in localities with 100,000 or more inhabitants, 29.8.

As can be seen, Latin America, like other Third World regions, is facing a high rate of urbanization. This is attributable to the great domestic migration flow prevalent in all countries owing to the inequalities between rural and urban areas created by the modernization process and the application of unfair industrial development policies. Most of the recent urban population is made up of rural and suburban migrants who have left their original homes in an attempt to improve their standard of living.

The main reasons for rural migrations are to be found in the problems deriving from the land tenure system, the lack of capital and technical assistance for improving the traditional forms of agricultural and small industry production, and from some ancient-rooted ways of human exploitation of peasants by land owners, merchants and political leaders.

Apart from this, the modernization of communications, particularly the mass media, has come to be considered a factor which stimulates rural-urban internal migrations. Most countries do not have communication policies oriented towards the needs and problems of the rural sectors. Mass media content is chiefly urban-oriented, and consciously or unconsciously portrays better expectations for life in urban sectors.

In some countries, where economic conditions, whether structural or occasional, have created better possibilities for improving people's standard of living, external migrations have affected the urbanization rates of growth. This is most evident in Venezuela which has a very long tradition of oil production that has attracted migrations from the urban and rural sectors of neighbouring countries and from overseas.

Rates for illiteracy in Latin America are high. The average percentage of the population aged 15 years and over was 28.5 in the region in 1970. The average net rate of enrolment of children in official schools, as a percentage of the total number of the same age, was 82.7 in 1975. The rate for secondary schools in the same year was 28.5.

Mass media

The average number of radio receiving sets per thousand of inhabitants in the region was estimated at 223 in 1975. The average number of telephones per thousand inhabitants was 41.6 in 1975. The total number of newspapers in the Latin American countries (not taking into account the Caribbean) was estimated at 1,290 for dailies and 947 for non-dailies (weeklies, monthlies). The total number of magazines registered was 4,936 which gives an average of 260 magazines per country for 1979. In a sample of five countries it was found that 68 per cent of print media circulation and 100 per cent of the printing plants were concentrated in urban areas.

There were 4233 radio stations throughout 19 Latin American countries in 1979. Most of them belong to private firms. The state owns just a few radio stations: between one to four in each country. Cuba, a socialist country, owns one hundred per cent of the 110 radio stations; Brazil has 98 state-owned stations; Argentina 59; and Peru 35 (CIESPAL, 1979). There is a high urban concentration of the medium.

The average percentage of radio stations in cities of 20,000 and over was 95 in 1979 (CIESPAL, 1979). Their coverage was mostly locally oriented (53 per cent). Thirty-four per cent offered regional coverage and a national service was offered by only 8.5 per cent of the stations. The content of the private stations, and even of some public ones, is chiefly commercially-oriented.

Apart from radio stations, some Latin American institutions work with radio schools, a widespread method used to provide formal and non-formal education to dispersed rural audiences. At present, there are 54 radio schools in Latin America. They largely belong to private religious organizations, though the state owns some too. All of them are formally organized under the Latin American Radio Schools Association (ALER), which support several co-ordinated activities.

The number of television stations was 635 in 1979 (CIESPAL, 1979); of these 82 per cent were relay stations. Like radio, the TV stations belong to private enterprises. Some countries (Venezuela, Brazil, Argentina) have combined ownership systems.

Seven countries of Latin America displayed 724 national films and 7,555 foreign ones in public cinemas in 1977.

National news agencies registered in 1979 numbered 27 in 17 countries. Of these, seven belonged to the state. Nine of them were working at an international level and eight regionally. The rest just covered the national needs of information throughout the local mass media (CIESPAL, 1979).

As stated above, most of the mass media are in hands of private firms, particularly print media of which the state owns only 1 per cent. In the case of radio and television stations, the state has entered into the administration of some organizations, but they do not represent more than 5 per cent of all stations broadcasting at present.

Because of this, mass media content is aimed at commercial goals, while the state makes its own efforts to convert the traditional public demand for entertainment programmes into a demand for culturally-oriented ones. But demand on the one hand, and the constraints and limitations on technical assistance and capital availability on the other, have hindered such efforts.

Communication policies

Except for a few countries (Venezuela, Colombia, Peru) Latin Americans had not defined national communication policies until 1977. At most, they used legislation to orient and control several elements of the media's operation in order to guarantee certain levels of public information. But there were no ways of guaranteeing the actual public needs for information about cultural, political and scientific affairs.

In countries where more integrated communication policies have been defined, some have sought to modify the systems of media ownership, others have tried to broaden the spectrum of topics that the mass media have been covering so as to expose more people to information related to the national development, and to widen the geographical coverage so that marginalized people can benefit from communication.

In Venezuela, there has been an attempt to influence the entire communication system, from the mass media field to the cultural one, including professional organizations, communication training centres and telecommunications. This country has reached a stage in which they have been able to decide on the creation of a Ministry of Communication (Unesco, 1977).

The notions of access and participation as they have been discussed in international fora, such as those of Unesco and some other United Nations specialized agencies, are not present in the ordinary discussions of legislative bodies. Perhaps the only exception is the Republic of Mexico which has recently been challenging the extreme freedom of the media to support only private initiatives and disregard the social needs of marginalized people.

The public debates in which the Latin American countries participated during the First Intergovernmental Meeting on Communication Policies for Latin America, held in Costa Rica in 1976, under the auspices of Unesco, were proof that it will be very difficult to reconcile private communication enterprises with those critics who regard present media trends as alien to the needs of people. The lesson of that meeting is that efforts should be put into creating new alternatives, with a communication system based on less massive media and activities that treat information as a public service.

This has been accepted even by those who some time ago believed that in order to play a better role in the development of marginal sectors the media should be put into the hands of government. The continuing cases of military and civil dictatorships from which Latin America has really had very bitter experience over the last century and a half, have demonstrated that there is a need for balanced communication control system in which 'majorities' should have access and participation. Although a fair system of this kind has not been encouraged thus far, such a system is now beginning to take shape through several communication projects which borrow from the mass media things that could be useful but also develop their own media in a way parallel to that of the traditional mass media.

Political structures

Owing to the fact that most Latin American countries are rooted in similar political, cultural and economic conditions, their political structures are similar as well, except for several Caribbean countries some of which still remain as protectorates of the original colonial countries. If we were to attempt a generalization about the entire Latin American region, we would probably say that it has a western-oriented democratic aspect, though the concept of democracy as regards elections does not actually prevail most of the time within each country in the region.

All the governments established by the principles of democracy are presidential, instead of legislature-oriented; that is, the President wields most of the political power with some controls exerted by the legislative function, and he determines the type of cultural, political and economic development the Nation should pursue.

Nevertheless, the cases of constitutional governments in Latin America are very few at present. Dictatorships still govern the countries of Brazil, Chile, Argentina, Bolivia, Paraguay, Haiti, El Salvador, Uruguay, where human rights are constantly violated according to allegations made by private civil organizations.

In the case of non-elected democratic governments--the cases are different for all of them. Cuba and Grenada have a similar type of government established by decision of the popular movements which seized all the power.

In those countries where there is a more open political system, the political parties play a very important role. In the past, conservative and liberal ideologies tended to be opposed but at the present time confrontation stays around the centre with political parties defending the Social Democratic and the Christian Democratic ideologies. The leftist parties still struggle for the support of the masses, although they have internally been split into many sub-parties or political movements that have created confusion and disillusion among their followers.

Economic background

Latin American countries are rich in natural resources, though they have not been well exploited. The capitalist system of production has determined historically a situation of dependency on industrial countries in all fields and of under-development. The efforts made to overcome this situation have not had good results except in some so-called relatively more developed countries within the region.

The diversity of economic situations within Latin America is wide. The relatively more developed countries are Argentina, Brazil, Cuba, Chile, Mexico, Uruguay, Costa Rica, Venezuela. These countries represented altogether a population equivalent to 72.9 per cent of the total population in 1970.

Nevertheless, the socio-economic situation of the masses within these countries is far from bein g comfortable for the needs and priorities of people. The disparities between the rich and the poor, and between urban and rural sectors are too noticeable. In as much as this situation is getting worse because of the international conditions of the economy in which these countries are immersed, social disturbance in Latin America is becoming more apparent. Moral, political, family and educational values are being degraded among certain marginal groups, who feel they have been alienated from all possibilities of better conditions of life.

Within these marginal areas, at urban and rural levels, there are absences and deficiencies of public services, contrasted with increasing needs and a growing population; there are difficulties in incorporating the marginal populations into the programmes of development; there is a depletion of renewable and non-renewable resources; there are psychological tensions and confusion provoked either by the change in life style between rural and urban settings, or by the unchangeable situation of those condemned to live without the essentials of life.

Approaches to national development throughout the region have been similar. But development models have been much influenced by regional and international organizations such as the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA), which has involved all the countries in a search for common patterns of development planning and strategies. Indeed, the first models resulting from this activity have resembled the modernization approaches of development adopted in industrial countries, particularly in the United States.

As social inequalities still persist, development strategies have come to change in some way. A new approach to development seeks to provide elements of participation to marginal groups in the entire process both in planning and in the operation in itself. This is to change concepts of social organization as well as the system of production within underprivileged areas.

For those countries with high rates of urbanization and high levels of social deprivation, the priorities concern ways of reducing internal migration by means of rural programmes. But in parallel to this, urban marginal problems are being tackled by means of new urban planning approaches which are included in notions of regional development. These strategies seek to develop small areas in order to provide them with elements for further steady take-off towards integral development.

Against this background, some figures which show the economic situation of the Latin American countries are:

. the average amual rates of growth of gross domestic product was 4.1 in 1978 (ECLA, 1978); 4.4 in 1977; and 6.5 between 1970 and 1975;

. the average per capita income was $1,230 in 1977;

. the growth of employment in agriculture was .44 between 1960 and 1970; in manufacturing and basic services 4.12 and in other services 3.8.

Latin America is a continent of many cultures. However, several of its countries have various common cultural elements and common historical antecedents which has integrated them into clusters of countries with high similarity.

The most widely spoken languages are Spanish and Portugese. There are also countries which speak English, French and Dutch. Within each country the native languages still survive, even though most, with some exceptions, have not been considered as official ones.

The Spanish language is spoken by almost 250 million people in 19 countries of Latin America, and Portugese by almost 130 million in Brazil. There are six small English-speaking countries.

Recently, Latin American countries have been seeking new ways of horizontal co-operation in communications. The sub-regional pacts for multiple co-operation seem to be a good practical arena to work in, and this work has stimulated several attempts at co-ordination and, co-operation among the countries. One example is the Andean Pact which has been developing sub-regional television programmes, news agencies, and agricultural production and health communication programmes. Apart from this, there is an increasing interest on the part of relatively more developed countries of Latin America to work together with less developed ones in building new ways of bilateral co-operation for training and research activities. Co-operation seems also feasible in the field of technical infrastructure, particularly for improving the rural telecommunication networks, as well as for sharing experiences in project design and execution of communication programmes to support development.

The main international co-operation in communication comes from the intergovernmental international organizations such as Unesco and the United Nations Development Programme, although the Organization of American States has embarked on a major programme of co-operation in communication during the last seven years. Yet it should be said that the main source of assistance for communications co-operation is still Unesco and its regional programmes.

Bilaterally, the Republic of West Germany, the United States, and Canada, have been sponsoring very important programmes for communication development in several countries in Latin America. In some cases, these programmes have regional coverage.

2. Context and concepts of urban community communication

Despite the fact that urban growth in Latin America has its roots in a long process of external migrations from abroad, some of which were programmed, and the intensification of the industrial system of production at the beginning of this century, the on-going process of urbanization is the result of a phenomenon of internal migrations which started only 25 or 30 years ago.

The outlook for urban development in Latin America is not optimistic. Great regional disequilibrium, considerable rural and urban unemployment and a persistence of poverty are foreseen, particularly in less developed centuries.

Within this frame of reference, urban development programmes have aimed at confronting some of the main problems resulting from marginality. Traditionally, problems have been tackled in a piecemeal fashion, but in recent years, new concepts about regional development and urban planning have emphasized the need for more integrated approaches, most of which however have not progressed beyond the drawing-board. For example, it has been stated that over the last 30 years, only three countries have really tried to carry out a structural and integral urban reform--Cuba, Colombia and Bolivia. Yet nothing was accomplished in the last two countries, owing to political, economic and technical constraints (Acedo, 1974). The common concern is community participation. That is why new types of strategy which seek to satisfy modern ideas on urban problems are being applied nowadays.

Urban marginality is at the same time cause and effect of a series of problems that have hindered urban development, and several theories place the concept of integration alongside that of marginality, as parameters for analysing the situation. Both parameters are associated with variables such as: popular organization and participation, community promotion, and the cultural and individual characteristics of the urban communities. New theories proceed to definitions of passive and active participation (Acedo, 1974), instead of the 'contributive' participation traditionally demanded in development programmes of the 1950s.

On the one hand, marginality is seen as characterized by a passive lack of participation. That is, not having access to education, communication, technical and financial assistance, housing, employment, infrastructure, land, etc. On the other hand, marginality is seen as a consequence of the lack of active participation in political, economic, and social decisions.

Under the influence of these concepts urban community development activities have attracted considerable interest in many countries, particularly in those where the seriousness of marginality problems have threatened the relative progress reached already. This is the case in Mexico, Brazil, Venezuela, Colombia, Argentina and Chile, where urban development programmes are of far-reaching dimensions and importance.

These programmes are based on aspects of infrastructure such as housing, environmental protection and schools. They also look for a co-participative action between the state and the communities in order to satisfy some of the communal needs in economic production, cultural development training, and communication within and outside the community.

Although it is not possible to talk about urban community communication in Latin America without relating it to the general problems of communication for development, unfortunately space does not permit a full discussion of the latter. One may summarize by saying that the last ten years were, for Latin America, a very important decade in relation to its conceptual

and operational evolution in the communication field. This was due to many circumstances, among which the main ones were: (a) the generalized frustration of Latin America before the apparent failure of the so-called developing models of the first development decade, which greatly affected the traditional paradigm of communication; (b) political events at the world level that affected the Third World countries; and (c) the influence of important schools in the sociology of knowledge which, emerging in the classical academic centres of Europe, flowed into Latin America with enormous critical effect to challenge orthodox intellectual positions.

Among the ideas of development, the model of diffusion of innovation received the most systematic criticism because, in addition to philosophical and theoretical observations, the actual operations of the model were observed. This necessarily focused discussions on its usefulness and the difference between technology and technique, and its relations with the concept of ideology.

From a sociological and anthropological perspective the main criticism of the diffusion of the innovation model was its excessive interest in modernization, and its refusal to analyse the social utility of modernization among the marginal groups of Latin America. Other criticisms noted the model's assumption that modernizing ideas depended rather on individuals than on the socio-political, cultural and economic structure of the social group to which the individuals belonged. In addition, the paternalist posture of the model, which could find ways of producing change in dependent societies only through the imposition of an exterior culture, was criticized. Many authors also criticized the model's interest in persuasion and the bias of the communication process it suggested, which might be described as follows: the person who investigated and solved the question of content was an outsider; those who determined the needs of the community were outsiders; those who researched and produced the messages were outsiders mediated by governmental agencies; those evaluated were the receivers; those who transmitted were the outsiders; those who had to pay for the errors of the response were the receivers; and the commun ication media were outside the reach of marginal groups.

The critical concept of vertical communication was widespread when it was discovered that it applied to all fields and levels of communication, from interpersonal to international communication.

According to Beltran, Latin America is the most evident example of the statement that the exercise of power from one individual towards another cannot be conceived without some comunication from one to the other. 'A slight minority of its population exercize power on the majority in a way that assures total domination. To obtain this end the oligarchical elites resort to mass communication aiming at maintaining the situation without change' (Beltran, 1979).

Other authors, who studied in depth the ideological character of vertical communication, have said that it hinders dialogue and seeks, at the same time, the use of 'feed-back' only to obtain--for the transmitter--the control of the communication process and the corresponding social action, by means of a monologue instead of a dialogue, which forces the receiver to act and behave in the way and manner the sender wants.

'This vertical, asymmetric, and almost authoritarian social relationship constitutes--from my point of view--an instance of non-democratic communication. We must have the capacity of constructing a new concept of communication; a humanistic model, non-elitist, democratic and non-mercantilist', Beltran states.

By the time these concepts had been accepted in some Latin American circles, the concepts on education and liberation that the Brazilian philosopher Paolo Freire had postulated some years before were being taken up again. At the beginning of 1960 he had launched the most important historical criticism on traditional education (Freire, 1969). Concepts like banking education and 'conscientization' began to be fashionable and used in most of the literacy work with adults in the region.

Freire postulated that individuals should be liberated through conscientizing education demonstrating that traditional education was the relation of oppression between the 'rich in knowledge' and the students who were the oppressed, and that, through this system, the relations of domination by some social classes over the others were perpetuated, because the teacher, instead of helping the students to demythify their reality, contributes to its mythification.

Freire was one of the first Latin American authors to object to extensionism in communications, pointing out the verticalism of the process. His reference to the extensionist tradition of communication projects in support of agrarian development was clear. Such a tradition had predominated for a time. Its methods were criticized as domineering and domesticating. Education, he stated, referring to extensionism, is not extending something from the site of knowledge towards the site of ignorance. Education is an act in which knowledge does not end in the object-to-be known, because the latter comes into communication with other subjects, which are also knowable.

The logical reaction to the diverse criticisms of communication gave place to contributions from a political-science perspective. Some of the same authors who had postulated vertical models of communication in the past, changed their proposals and stated they were not in agreement with the traditional models. Terms like democratic communication and horizontal communication came to be associated with the conception that communication cannot take place in a vacuum, isolated from the economic, political and cultural structures of society. Participation of the audience was the sine qua non of horizontal communication. Some schematizations even deleted the concepts of 'sender' and 'receiver' from models of the communication process and replaced them by the term 'communicators'.

The implications of these conceptualizations had repercussions at every level of communication. At the level of rural community communication these concepts developed widely, and started to be applied through the combination of literacy techniques for liberation, which Paulo Freire had suggested years before. This was complemented by important methodological and theoretical contributions from other Latin American authors, for example, 'thematical research' (Bosco Pinto, 1970) and the ideas about action research proposed years before by authors from other regions inspired by different philosophies. An indeterminate number of combinations of methods and strategies were formulated and transferred to the urban community communication field. In the field of mass communication, participatory communication acquired forms and denominations. In many countries, especially Brazil, Argentina and Chile, talks about the alternative press began, and this gave place to attempts to define alternative communication.

The alternative press seeks to substitute access by marginal groups for the limitations produced by the ownership, production, distribution, and content patterns of the media. New media have been created and organized, especially printed ones, independent from ordinary commercial magazines, newspapers or other printed matter. The fact that they are alternative has come to be conceptualized in such a way, while having no effect upon the present structure of the traditional mass media, they pretend to 'oppose the overwhelming domination of transnational communication, acquiring definite antagonist characteristics towards the latter' (Richards 1979).

3. Case studies in urban community communication

Taking into account the preceding conceptual discussion of community communication, some examples of ongoing and past projects have been selected for description. The purpose of this is to observe the underlying elements of such projects and to analyse the extent to which urban community communication is being used in practice.

Since most community communication projects, whether urban or rural, have been designed and implemented as experimental ones or as short-term alternatives, preference has been given to projects coming from different areas--education, community promotion, health education, communal organization--and at the same time projects which have used, or at least tried to use, different types of media.

3.1 Audio-visual pedagogy for educational communication in Ceilandia (Brazil)

Without much doubt the field of educational television is the most explored in Latin America in regard to community communication, probably owing to the tremendous communicative capacity of television.

In the city of Brazilia, capital of Brazil, the project named 'Audio-visual pedagogy for educational communication in Ceilandia' has been in progress since 1978. Ceilandia is an urban community that has faced problems typical or urban marginal areas.

The main objective of the project referred to 'implanting a process of educational communication', while specific objectives included: to encourage by means of mass communication and the production and application of audio-visual programmes concerned with affairs in Ceilandia, the community's understanding of its problems and its active participation in the task of development.

The project design requires the use of: a) portable recording systems which allow the community to be recorded as it really is; b) a production nucleus which uses recordings and other visuals to produce a final edited programme and makes the necessary copies to be distributed; and c) finally, portable modules that will permit programme replay to population groups.

The communication process depends on the interrelation of three factors: (1) Action by the people, the social animators, educationists and administrators; (2) an educational television system; (3) the programmes produced in the Centre for Educational Technology.

Diagnostic programmes: These take the form of audio-visual reports which are analysed and discussed by the population, and which make it possible to attempt problem-solving in the full understanding of the context, and to determine the active role that must be taken by the population in the proposed solution.

Pedagogical programmes: These are a series of programmes grouped together in courses with a pedagogical aim and structure. They provide, for a community organized in groups, both the theoretical and practical knowledge that make it possible for the population to participate actively in the solution of their problems in order to improve their living conditions. Programmes cover improvement of environmental conditions, health, nutrition, housing and improvement of infrastructure, as well as the services which the government offers to citizens.

'Programmes of evidence': These facilitate knowledge and communication among different population groups. They are mainly oriented towards strengthening the culture of the population and a revaluing of local music, theatre, poetry and popular literature, with a view to making culture self-supporting.

The project operates within the Integrated Project for Human Social Promotion and Environmental Education of Ceilandia. It relies on two types of organization for its execution: (1) The Centre for Educational Technology which consists in a board of management on which are represented regional social welfare and education services, and a team of audio-visual specialists to make programmes; (2) Committees for Educational Communication which work at school level. Each committee has a coordinator (who depends directly on the co-ordinator for the Centre for Television Production) plus two educators, a social worker, a health agent and two representatives from the community of Ceilandia.

The functions of these committees are to research conditions in their area so as to determine the training needs of the population and propose themes and programmes; and to plan the activities that support the programming, deciding on the target audience and the people that must be trained in each theme.

A production unit of two people develops a course of ten and twelve programmes of twenty-five minutes each (on an average), with complementary written and graphic materials, in an estimated time of three months. In one year of work, a team of eight can produce twelve courses with a total of one hundred and thirty programmes (equivalent to sixty TV hours) applied by themselves to a section of the population. These are then evaluated and fed back with any necessary changes. In all production stages, the participation of the community members is expected.

(a) Investigation of educational needs

As mentioned above, this is done by the Educational Committee for each school area. This is the stage, according to the original design, in which the population must be involved in consciousness raising about the nature of the problem they want to deal with in order to assume a commitment to participating in the solution.

(b) Academic investigation

Beginning with the information obtained in stage (a), the production unit mounts a brief academic investigation using specialists in the theme to be treated, in order to obtain a first structuring of the contents of the course or series of programmes.

(c) Applied investigation

Armed with this, the production unit carries out a brief applied investigation to match the results of the academic investigation (stage b)--with the actual conditions in which the population lives. It attempts to determine the representational codes to be used in transmitting the information and how to link that information with the empirical knowledge of the population concerned. It also tries to verify whether the technical and technological aspects of the proposal are applicable to real conditions. It tries to rescue the technology which the population itself uses to solve these problems, attempting to complement this with the support of the technicians or specialists.

From this confrontation between the proposal of the specialists and the real conditions of the population, the production unit must determine the structure of the course to be produced, its overall sense, the programmes or units the course is composed of, and the contents of each unit or programme.

The production unit then proceeds through the stages of outline and draft script to plan the production and prepare graphics, animations, photographs, slides and other necessary elements for studio recording and final editing. At the same time complementary materials are produced, namely, a participator's guide, an instructor's guide and evaluation documents. The completed programme is tested in the field, evaluated and amended as necessary.

Staff training and organization

The whole team is given training in production and audio-visual pedagogy. One aim was that the programme and course production should be developed by the educators themselves. This training was to last for three intensive months. The course was devised by the Centre of Audio-Visual Production for Training (CEPAC) in Lima, Peru, which is part of CENCIRA, the National Centre for Training and Investigation for Agrarian Reform. CENCIRA receives technical co-operation from FAO. This centre maintains a similar programme in Lima for rural areas on a preferential basis (Postgate et al. 1979).

The operation does not allow for specialization or technical division of labour. It does not train writers, camera or sound technicians, etc., but rather educators for the entire process of production in audio-visual pedagogy, so that all members of the production centre team can understand all phases, from the initial investigation of a programme or course to the final editing of a programme, with evaluation taking place through the different moments of production.

Finance

The project has been carried out with the help of Unesco and the financing of the Federal Government of Brazil. The contribution of Unesco is for electronic equipment amounting to US$ 40,000. Unesco has also financed the consultancy of two experts to train local personnel, plus training scholarships in Lima (with CEPAC), representing US $50,000 while the Brazilian government's contribution is about US $130,000.

Evaluation

The project is now in the operational phase. A complete evaluation has not been made as yet for the two years 1978 and 1979. On the other hand, there is no recent information on any problems and obstacles that the project has encountered up till the time of writing, and Unesco included the project in its planning for 1980.

The evaluation will have the following global criteria: an evaluation of the teaching-learning process of the courses; an evaluation to determine whether the population, after participating

in a course, introduces new practices and conduct regarding the theme treated in the course; and an evaluation to ascertain whether the practices and conduct introduced signify an improvement in terms of development.

3.2. Cassette Forum

The cassette forum is perhaps one of the community communication techniques which is most widespread in Latin America. Nevertheless, it has been used more in rural areas than in urban. The available information does not report much experience of it in urban sectors, and in many cases it is not used in isolation but rather in combination with other techniques. A case of isolated use follows.

During 1979, an experiment at an international level was carried out using the technique of cassette forum based on the work of Mario Kaplun, a Latin American specialist in radio, who developed the idea originally to work with farmers who were members of an agrarian production co-operative near Montevideo, Uruguay (Kaplun, 1978).

The international experiment involved the national movements of the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) of the cities of Montevideo (Uruguay), Winnipeg (Canada), and Guatemala (Guatemala). These cities have maintained a three party mutual co-operation agreement since 1974. In 1979, the three YMCAs decided to explore the possibilities of improving the communication between them, using cassette forum, while continuing to use their usual systems as well.

The objective of the project was to improve and intensify the flow of communication interchanges, with the goal of establishing a 'distance dialogue' that would facilitate the formulation and execution of common projects and encourage mutual understanding.

The Communication Unit acts as a central transmitter. Its responsibility is to produce cassettes according to the following procedure. Once the theme has been established which is to be the topic of analysis on the part of the three YMCAs, discussion in the groups in Montevideo is recorded and edited. The other sections of the cassette are recorded and dubbed. The cassette is recorded in Spanish and English versions, and then sent by mail to the YMCAs of Guatemala and Winnipeg.

A summary of the discussion and answers to the questions that are a part of each transmission are recorded and sent back to the transmitting centre in Montevideo. The transmitting centre, once it has received the cassettes back, listens to them with the groups in Montevideo, closing the cycle of this cassette, and at the same time, starting the procedure for sending the next cassette.

The groups from each YMCA that participate in the programme must use the following method: (a) they designate a co-ordinator who will be responsible for receiving the cassette, calling a meeting, and organizing it so that questions are answered. The co-ordinator will have to take notes during the discussion of the central theme, so that nothing is omitted at the moment of recording the conclusions. The comments could be valuable and significant; (b) the group meets with the express purpose of listening to and discussing the cassette. It is hoped that once the cassette has been received, the group will be able to meet within seven days. The cassette with the answers has to be sent to the transmitting centre together with the evaluation sheet not later than ten days afterwards; (c) it would be impossible to expect each YMCA to respond to the central theme. The recordings need not be made at a high technical level; (d) material from the other sections is also included so that they can be utilized in information programmes, enriching one's own programme, etc.; (e) the cassette and all others sent by the transmitting centre are kept and another cassette is used to send the answers.

After the experience of the first year, organizations or groups such as departments of development also took part in the programme.

The contents of the cassettes include:

(a) National news (four minutes), with information about what had happened in the country in the last four weeks, and on specific themes: historical, geographical, cultural, etc.

(b) Information from the YMCA (four minutes). Details about the most important activities of the past four weeks.

(c) Central theme (thirty minutes). Opinions from groups about the theme under consideration. At the end, questions are posed reflecting the doubts that the group has about the theme, as well as what it might like to know about the groups with whom a theme is being discussed.

(d) Open space (four minutes). This is freely used by each YMCA to record any information or question that does not fit into the other sections.

The transmitting centre will use the other side of the cassette to produce special programmes, for example, folk music, reports about people and events, and the celebration of national holidays.

In order to produce the cassettes, it is suggested that appropriate material be put together to be used in the different sections at the proper moment. This material will be obtained from the recording of organization and group meetings; from reports by management and staff of the YMCA; from interviews with specialists on different themes, and from the recording of diverse activities.

The script for each cassette could include the transcript of original recordings, and this could be in dialogue form, resulting in attractive and stimulating material for the listener. The beginning and ending of each cassette for every programme is always the same and includes the name of the programme, who has made it, the number, date and language of the transmission, plus the closing signature-tune. The suggested equipment is minimal: a tape recorder; a cassette recorder; 90-minute cassettes and tapes.

The programme involves a system of registers. An evaluation is done of each cassette and then a final evaluation is performed once the first year of the programme is finished. This is done through answer sheets, and internal evaluation sheets. The report from the Montevideo YMCA shows that they had success with the programme.

3.3. Multimedia projects

A great proportion of those communication projects which assume the necessity of community participation and which are applied in rural as well as urban sectors emphasize several media instead of only one. Many of these projects begin by developing one or two media and later involve others.

The People's Communication Centre (Lima)

One of the pioneering projects in Latin America in the field of urban community communication involving people's participation is the one in a suburb of Lima known as Villa El Salvador. It has been developed by the Centro de Comunicación Popular (Centre for People's Communication--CPC) since 1975. The original aims of the project were to offer to the suburban community from Villa El Salvador the means to stimulate its communal organization, and to provide members of the community with an opportunity to participate in decisions to improve their conditions of life. Originally, the project was developed through the Centro Experimental de Educacion (Experimental Education Centre), and afterwards through the CPC. The CPC emphasized the necessity of using interpersonal communication as a resource for this end.

The Villa El Salvador community belongs to the so called 'new towns' (pueblos jóvenes) of the city of Lima. Characteristically they are inhabited by people who emigrated from the countryside about 20 or 25 years ago, and who settled in sites that at that time were outside Lima, by actually occupying the land. At present, approximately 200,000 persons live in the place.

When, in urban terms, these communities grew, basic services, such as drinking water, sewerage, streets and roads, were not available and the possibility of developing a stimulating social life within the community was limited. For these reasons, it was a typical marginal neighbourhood of the city of Lima which, in 1970, was the Latin American city that attracted the largest immigration from the country.

The problems of communication within the community which had been identified at the beginning of the programme were perhaps typical of isolated communities in Latin America, where there is not enough interpersonal contact between persons of different ages and sex. Add to this the fact that exposure to mass media was minimal, since the latter did not cover these areas extensively. On the other hand, the media content had nothing to offer the members of the community.

An Experimental Educative Centre working in the outskirts of Lima found that theatre, discussion groups, slides and cassettes were useful in stimulating the interest of groups in communicating between themselves, and in attempting to organize themselves informally. However, after some efforts, it was found that this did not result in fostering relations between the participant groups.

There was, then, a need to look for a new method that would permit the sharing of problems between persons and groups so that they could organize themselves and initiate social action directed towards changing the situation of the community and individuals. All this led to the creation of the Centro de Comunicacion Popular, whose interest was centred on introducing the population to the potentialities of interpersonal communication, as a basis to stimulate the people's organization.

To this end, workshops were established on cinema, theatre, publications, slides, cartoons, and singing, all open to members of the community.

Each workshop meets once or twice weekly to discuss the problems of the community. A problem is chosen and explained through the use of the particular communication medium studied in that workshop. At a plenary assembly of all workshop members each week a different workshop organizes and directs the assembly and takes everyone through practical exercises in their particular skill. Sometimes, whenever a serious problem arises in the community, all the workshops simultaneously analyse the same topics, and collectively prepare a concerted attack using several media, with the end of popularizing some aspects of the problem.

Great importance is given to the diffusion of the results of these workshops, and recently a continued attempt has been made to organize meetings with new groups inside the district and outside. During a period of a state of emergency, when informal meetings of the people were forbidden in Peru, the CPC was one of the very few places where people could gather legally, and this was very important.

The project has been partially financed by Unesco, which paid for most of the original equipment. It has continued since 1975 and still has the sponsorship of Unesco. A report of activities carried out during 1978 points out that the Centro de Comunicacion Popular de Villa El Salvador has been very active, widening its objectives, and proving once again the great capacity of the organized population of Villa El Salvador to use different communication media for its own benefit.

Audiovisual, publication and public library workshops were created in 1978. The building of premises was possible thanks to a donation made by a Christian community from the Netherlands, and to the united work of the organized membership of the Centro de Comunicacion Popular. The creation of the library received assistance from the Direction of Municipal Libraries of the National Library of Peru which trained some young workshop members.

In the audiovisual workshop during 1978, 25 scripts on local and national subjects were produced, the equipment donated by Unesco was fully used, and the scripts were shown to residential groups in the community. A programme called 'La Hora de la Comunidad' (The Hour of the Community) was 'broadcast' over loud-speakers. It contained news, music, contributions by leaders and other members of the community and also local advertisements.

Two singing workshops operate in co-ordination with the theatre workshop. In 1979, many other singing groups were formed in other areas of the district, supported by the CPC. As far as the cinema workshop is concerned, demand is so intense that it has been impossible to meet all the requests. Films loaned by embassies, movie-clubs and distributors are projected in the four zones of the community, in most of the educational centres, in the parishes and the markets, and this activity is one of the activities which best supports communal organization.

The publication workshop issues a magazine, 'Critiques' ('Criticas'), which is the only permanent publication of Villa El Salvador, and is printed on an offset-litho machine donated by Unesco. Posters, booklets on popular education and other publications for the community, and for other areas of the population, are also printed in this workshop, which is self-financing.

The theatre workshop is one of the most active as well. It performs in the streets of the community, in the educational centres, markets, etc., creating plays based on local and national subjects. This workshop has a very positive influence on other theatre groups in Villa El Salvador.

'After working for four years, the Centro de Comunicacion Popular is well-known, and as a result we receive requests to exchange and share experiences with other cultural groups and associations', stated the 1978 report. The National Library has included the CPC library within its national network. The National Institute of Culture included exchange with the CPC as part of its National Training Plan.

Following the example of Villa El Salvador, other Popular Communication centres are being formed in other new towns, such as Mana, El Agustino, Huascar, and San Juan de Miraflores. Some of the inhabitants of these towns have visited the Centre at Villa El Salvador in order to analyse its methodology and regulations and to exchange experiences. There are also exchanges with inhabitants from the cities of Chimbote, Caneto and Chiclayo.

In 1979, the Centre had the use of a large hall for meetings of the community, conventions and public events. Short courses of lectures at a high level, qualifying people in the use of communication media, have also begun to be offered. For these courses, the Centre depended on the aid of other national organizations.

The project has been evaluated and it has been found that the arrival of broadcast television and a more intensive viewing of it in the community has had a negative effect on the levels of participation in the different workshops.

The survey asks members of the community, whether or not they belong to workshops, the following questions:

- When and how did you come to know the CPC?
- Do you maintain any kind of relationship with the Centre and its workshops?
- Has the CPC had some influence in the development and operation of your group?
- How does the CPC contribute to the development of popular culture?
- Which aspects of the Centre do you consider most positive?
- What are the principal criticisms you would make of the CPC?

3.4 Action-research

Just as there are projects where communication of communication techniques generally are postulated as the central strategy in projects of programmes of urban development, there are also projects which use community communication media to support other aims within the process of community development.

. Often this happens with those projects which use 'social animation' or 'community animation' techniques, as for example those which involve the participation of the community in diagnosing community problems and planning alternative solutions to them. In these types of project, the use of community communications is implicit in each part of the project, although the use of a particular medium is not assumed. Which type of communication media will be used, the contents, forms of use and evaluation, are the result of members of the community confronting such factors as the circumstances and conditions of the place where the project will occur and the availability of resources.

Mobral

The Foundation for the Brazilian Literacy Movement (Fundación Movimiento Brasileno de Alfabetizacion, MOBRAL), which forms part of the Brazilian Ministry of Education and Culture, was created for the purpose of providing continuing education for adults and teenagers. MOBRAL began to operate in 1970 with two very important and pioneering goals--the eradication of illiteracy in Brazil by 1980, and the creation of an infrastructure that would permit MOBRAL to offer the Brazilian population a whole range of options in educational terms (Ramos, 1979).

The organization, after 10 years of work, has reached the point of creating a theory about education centred on community action, defining this as the 'privileged place for diagnosis of the situation of personal life and the search for educational alternatives involving social participation' (MOBRAL, 1979). An educational process centred on community action relates the anxieties, needs and expectations of people which condition their way of living to educational possibilities that may enlarge social participation.

The history of MOBRAL's work within communities has led to the creation of a methodology of community work, embodied in the Diversified Programme of Community Action, PRODAC. This programme was conceived as a form of conscientization of the community. That is to say, all concerned work to understand the local reality, decide to transform it, look for media to make this transformation feasible, and, finally, act in the direction of this transformation.

Set up in 1975, PRODAC is at present involved in 340 municipalities in every state and territory of Brazil. Within these municipalities, it works in more than 1100 areas, through more than 1300 community groups and involves directly more than 6000 persons.

PRODAC includes within its objectives the creation of conditions which will help dynamize and organize participation by individuals, groups and organizations in the development of the community: co-operation with the constituted authorities and the population in general in the community interest; and the consolidation of the programmes of MOBRAL, trying to make them match the objectives and aspirations of the communities. The basic methodology used by PRODAC in Community Action makes the following assumptions:

An exchange should be sought between the knowledge of the agents and the knowledge of the population involved in educational practice. The life experience of the population is far removed from that of the agents.

The effectiveness of the educational process is directly related to the effective participation of the agent in the community actions, since this provides the exchange of experience in which the knowledge and experience of both are transformed into instruments that will be used by the population as much as by the agent in the analysis of reality and the possibility of changing it.

Community activities must correspond to the social needs identified by the same social groups. The agents must not displace the population in the diagnosis of the situation. Nor must the agent interpose himself in place of the population at moments when the latter is looking for solutions to its problems together with the authorities and competent institutions.

According to PRODAC, the term community is 'the form of expression of the structural identity of one or more social groups, built upon its conscientization, organization and participation in the development process'.

The four basic principles which orient community development action, are: mobilization, integration, organization and programme flexibility. PRODAC's methodology for action development is as follows:

Mobilization is produced with the active and continuous participation of all the members of the community during all the moments of the process, utilizing for this purpose the media that unleash different types of involvement of the population, through:

Diffusion. Contact with persons, leaders, places, community groups, organizations, etc., meetings, lectures; and, use of the local communication media, with the production of special messages about the project as it develops.

Diagnosis: Study of the community, research and interviews that help the community reflect on its own reality; enrichment of the knowledge of the MOBRAL agent about the communities; identification and selection of the sectors that will be taken into consideration, in agreement with the persons responsible for the research within the community; tabulation and systematization of the information in the performance areas, obeying the priorities and criteria pointed out by the community; working out on the basis of the tabulation a diagnosis approved by the community; analysis of the diagnosis by the population, where the feasibility of the proposed action will be tested; definition of the objectives which will guide the action to be developed, putting the problems in order of priority (education, health, housing).

Organization, integration and group formation

It is necessary to point out the importance of respecting the values of the groups, permitting the exchange of knowledge and experiences, and using their resources and potentialities in a global form.

The communication process will happen to the extent to which groups are conscious of their values, of the importance of their participation and their ability to produce action for their own and the community's benefit.

Local Action Groups (LAG)are constituted by the population and by the representatives of the community groups from the neighbourhood. A co-ordinator is designated for each organized LAG. Each LAG will guide the performance according to a Local Action Plan, and following the principles outlined above.

MOBRAL--The Santa Cruz Project (Rio de Janeiro)

A project called 'Community Action in Santa Cruz' (the latter being a commune of Rio de Janeiro) has been in existence since January, 1979. The central objective is to give the communities an apprenticeship in participation, investigating an educational process that will give the local social groups involved an opportunity of selecting the media to express and enlarge their social participation through their own community schemes.

The methodology has been adapted to the social reality of the population, formed mostly by peasants who have emigrated from the rural zones of various regions around the Rio de Janeiro state. The Santa Cruz commune is administratively divided into various zones and in each of these zones the methods described above are followed. The use of group dynamics has been emphasized in order to stimulate participation in meetings of a diverse nature, and community communication media are used to call people to meetings, to publicize the resolutions of organizations and activities that need to be undertaken in the immediate future; and to invite the members of the community to participate in events.

Communities where work has been carried out

(a) The 14th lot

The main social groups in this area are masons, labourers and domestics. The lot has not been recognized by the Prefecture, because of the lack of services and of basic infrastructure (water, sewerage). For this reason the Regional Administrator of the locality is interested in speeding up the process of legal recognition for the lot, through the organization of a representative group.

During the implementation phase, 12 meetings took place, 4 of which provided an opportunity for thinking, organizing, and creating solidarity among the social groups; in addition, information about the possibilities of using existing resources and the best form of using them was disseminated.

(b) Rolas lot

At the Rolas lot there exist an organized group, the Small Growers Association, and another in a state of disintegration co-ordinated by individuals from Santa Cruz Parish. The first one, organized in 1967, played a strong part in defence of the community, having as its goal the preservation of the lands taken over by squatters in 1966. Today, the lot is a highly populated neighbourhood, and its housing problem increases monthly, due to the disordered migration of the population, consisting of various social groups.

In the first stage, the task of the MOBRAL specialists was to dynamize the organized group. During the diagnostic phase, with the deepening of knowledge about the cultural and socio-economical reality, the rest of the social groups within the Small Growers Association rejected the Association because it did not represent the social interests of the total population, and because it was marked by a past full of conflicts and struggles.

Through questioning, reflections, discussions during informal and individual contacts and in meetings with the social groups, the analytical and historical knowledge of the community brought about a sense of dialogue and 'clearing-out' and facilitated the organization of a group that would really represent the whole of the community.

(c) Praia de Spetiba (Spetiba Beach)

This is a fishing community. The fishermen constitute a social group of relative socio-cultural homogeneity, and a representative economical activity in the Rio de Janeiro Municipality. The 2300 fishermen are divided into canoe and ship proprietors and operators, shell-fish gatherers and merchants.

There existed in Spetiba Beach, a 'Fisherman's Colony', an association which had become inactive and discredited by the local fishermen, through jealousies and conflicts. The procedure adopted by the MOBRAL agents was to attract the fishermen to join this association, strengthening its representativity.

A meeting took place in the 'Fishermen's Colony', in the presence of the management and the different categories of fishermen. In a situation of dialogue the local problems were analysed and discussed and alternative solutions canvassed. Afterwards, after contact had been made with national and regional development organizations, the Spetiba Beach work was given concrete form by the participation of the MOBRAL agents and their clients in the writing of a report directed to the Fishermen's Colony proposing a system to regulate the share of fishing. Working proposals included: involvement of representative persons and organizations connected with local problems in community meetings; reorganization of the local branches of development organizations; involvement of young people through fortnightly meetings; involvement of a local theatre group producing shows related to local problems; giving training courses at Santa Cruz; drawing up a working plan with the local communities.

3.5 Cultural development at Ajusco (Mexico, Federal District)

At Mexico City, the organization called 'Fomento Cultural y Educativo' (FCE), since 1972, has carried out a programme under the same name, for rural and urban areas, based on the concept that education must emerge from the daily work that people do in order to survive and find their place in society. 'There, where the people work, earn their living, protect and seek their most elementary human and civil-political rights, is where we can learn and where we can co-operate for their education'.

FCE tries to find routes for collaboration between independent groups dedicated to education and popular groups. Educational action starts from dialogue and the certainty that both learn together, and is directed towards the free and individual decision of each subject about their future and the fulfilment of their capacities.

Each project has a co-ordinator and is financed by the resources of the institution, contributions from national and/or international agencies, and by some productive services like publications, courses, etc.

An example of FCE's work is the Ajusco Project.

The Ajusco neighbourhood is one of the 550 neighbourhoods that now exist in the Federal District of Mexico City. There are 50,000 inhabitants, the result of the continuous in-flow over the last twenty years from the countryside.

Over the last few years the inhabitants of the neighbourhood have dreamed of individually owning the land that they have illegally occupied. Residents began collective work each week-end to take over the district. Nevertheless drinking water is available in the neighbourhood only at communal taps, and there is only one paved street over which a bus line runs taking people to the far-off parts of the city. There are only three public telephones for the 50,000 residents. The Federal District set up two markets, two elementary schools, one high school and one gymnasium.

When the Government ordered residents to compensate the former owners of the land at a market price, people outside the district with greater financial resources began buying up the land. Thereupon the dreams of the Ajusco squatters of owning the land vanished.

In this situation, 'Fomento Cultural y Educativo' decided to help the neighbourhood by means of an educational programme. Three activity groups were used to generate unity and organization among the residents:

(a) A group dedicated to civic education, whose aim is to make courses of actions to claim rights, is the starting point for the residents' civic and political education. To this end, they use tools such as an educational magazine supported in every aspect by members of the community, including its funding, planning, production and distribution.

(b) A group dedicated to more formal education, of a kind where some members of the community help others; the plan includes an open high school, cultural circles for adults, social communication media, a community newspaper, posters, leaflets, audio-visual material, mass festivals, etc. and working with children in the streets and by going on educational outings.

(c) A group to provide various services, among which legal information is outstanding, especially about property laws.

There are six people working full time and nine half time on the project. Thirty residents have been trained as animators. It is calculated that the project has reached 670 adults and some 500 children and teenagers who work in organized groups, and a further 2000 people--mainly thanks to the communication media and to frequent conversation about the activities of the centre among the residents.

3.6. Participation of workers in the production of tape-slides

RIO DE JANEIRO

In Rio de Janeiro, in 1977, an experiment was carried out in participation by urban workers and labourers, living in marginal areas of the city, in the production of tape-slide sets on the theme 'Consolidation of the Labour Laws' (CLT). The team that conducted the experiment consisted of officials of the 'Federación de Órganos para Asistencia Social y Educacional' FASE (Federation of Agencies for Social and Educational Assistence), based at Rio de Janeiro (van Tilburg, 1977).

Their task was to guide the discussions, put in order the facts narrated by the workers and their points of view about these facts and about the consolidation of the laws, and produce sets of slides (this included preparation of the graphics, photography, preparing the sound track). The idea of producing the slides emerged from the realization that relations between worker and employer depend greatly on the knowledge that the worker has of the labour laws.

On the other hand it was estimated that Brazilian workers are not sufficiently sensitized to trade unionism, in other words towards the collective struggle necessary to defend their rights for better conditions of life and work. In deciding therefore to introduce the idea of trade unions and collective solutions, the team did not necessarily expect that the workers were going to be oriented to participate in the union; they hoped at least to make them conscious of the collective character of their problems and claims. In this sense, the 'Consolidation of Labour Laws, has

been thought of as being both a guarantee for the survival of the worker and his/her family, and a mechanism that makes it possible for the worker to get organized together without interference from outsiders.

This was the theory that served as a basis for the contents of the slides. Other ideas that served as starting points were: (1) that the role of the social agent (FASE member) should not be that of a 'guide' in the sense of trying to convince the 'spectator' of the subjective certainties possessed by the members of FASE, but rather that their role should be to put their technical capacity and time at the disposal of the workers, so that they would be able to carry out the project; (2) that the experiment --although not new, because they had worked with sets of slides in other cases, required a highly cautious approach to the handling of the problem: not ceasing to sensitize the worker, and at the same time not limiting use of the method to the groups that understood it most clearly; (3) since no set of slides would reflect the work done with all the groups of workers, the slides should preferably be very differentiated so as to be representative of each group; in this phase they were concerned only with urban workers, because these differ from rural ones in their language and their problems. The method of production of slides partly determined the contents.

The three groups of workers of the different industrial areas provided facts and points of view about the Labour Ministry, overtime, safety of work and employment rights. Based on these data the production team decided to produce five sets of slides: documentation, the working day, work hazards, sanitary conditions and labour laws dealing with union problems. The participating workers decided together what the sets of slides should deal with and what their contents should be.

All of them in different grades joined in the production of slides. The workers' participation was required so that they could see the way communication was being integrated with the working method and how their participation resulted in a communication style different from the one they generally used. It was expected that when they saw the effects of their participation in relation to the final product, they would understand the method of communication in the slides sets. It was a way of training the workers to use the sets of slides for training new groups of workers. At this point, however, the author admitted there were failures.

At the first meeting, it had been decided that the groups should be open and, consequently, the FASE staff should not offer other solutions (which they might consider more adequate) than those proposed by the group. In addition, it was decided that they should reproduce exactly the discussions of the participant groups about the CLT. At present the FASE team is using this audio-visual resource with the wage-earning population in more than ten areas.

Some evaluation was made by asking each group of workers to give their opinion as a group after having been exposed to the slides. The answers showed where mistakes had been made in content as well as method. One of the reports indicated that few ideas about how to make the slide sets had been used. The explanation given is that in the work on the production of slides, when the stages of production were formulated, the work was not on a realistic timetable. On the other hand, the workers were forthcoming with ideas on evaluation, on potential new uses, and new contents for the slides. In all, it was felt that the method was outstandingly useful as a communication resource.

4. Obstacles and limitations

Judging by the cases described in this study, there is in practice little formal, scientific evaluation of urban community communication in Latin America. This makes it impossible to count on sufficient information, and is the most serious obstacle to applying communication models.

This is not to say that there is almost nothing in this field, nor does it imply that participatory communication is 'more an imaginary object than an existing one capable of responding to scientific evaluation', as one author has mentioned (Vilar, 1970). In Latin America, experiments in this field in the urban area have multiplied significantly in the past ten years, and there are many indications that this trend will continue to develop in the future.

Perhaps the lack of evaluation in these kinds of programme reveals that it is political conditioning, and political limitations and obstacles, as well as those of a technical, financial structural nature, which make it difficult to apply community communication at an urban level.

A brief review of the traditional limitations and obstacles that are confronted in the execution of participatory communication projects in general will provide ideas about what is worth taking into consideration in the planning and execution of community communication projects in urban sectors.

Technical limitations

Weakness in the programme design is a common problem in the field of urban community communication. Generally, this involves the poor formulation of objectives, usually presented imprecisely, too generally or ambitiously. This makes it difficult to measure real achievements.

Limitations of a scientific and methodological kind

Programme objectives in certain types of production ought to be considered qualitatively and not quantitatively, and more emphasis should be placed on the repetition of the process before the final product is reached. This is because it is easier to measure social action and change historically over a period. In other cases, the question of measuring the effectiveness of the projects continues to have a quantitative and immediate ring to it because of accounting policies and the effects of these on the social group.

Nevertheless, in Latin America, as can be seen in the example of PRODAC in Brazil, there is now more and more interest in making objectives operational. This shows that thinking in terms of participatory communication at urban or rural levels does not exempt one from using communication planning in the formal terms traditionally used, even though the projects have only a local reach.

Here it is clear that there are really two points of view about urban community communication planning. The first is that of the management in the organization which stimulate the participation of the population in the planning and execution of communication projects (the majority of projects are sponsored by official or international organizations), and this involves the prior presentation of the institution's global objectives. The second point of view on communication planning is that of popular groups who present their own objectives, regardless of their agreement or not with the institutional objectives.

From the first point of view, a scientific system of planning becomes inevitable, since investments have to be justified. As for the second, the formulation of objectives depends on members taking concrete steps in the process of social action which in turn depends on the reflexive process that guides their decisions. So, planning in this second context is less formal, more pragmatic.

We can say, therefore, that formal planning needs a formal evaluation, and non-formal planning needs non-formal evaluation. Under these circumstances, when we speak of technical limitations, meaning evaluation, which frame of reference should be applied? And is it possible to combine the two points of view in planning and evaluation?

Technical limitations can also be manifest in the lack of scientific information which serves as a basis for the design of the urban community communication projects. This naturally has to do with the technology involved in communication planning as well.

Another limitation is the lack of co-ordination among projects coming from different institutions but applied in the same area. This generally occurs when the boundaries between communication, education and extension in health or agriculture cannot be clearly established in the field, and each institution develops its own project independently. This has been debated enough in the past in the case of rural development, and it is applicable to urban areas as well.

Technical limitations also concern the lack of technical personnel in the handling of specialized communication equipment.

According to a survey conducted by CIESPAL in 1979 among 119 development institutions which were carrying out formal communication projects of some kind or another, only 10 to 20 per cent of the professionals administering the projects were communicators. The rest were economists, socialogists, psychologists and educators or similar specialists. There is also a tendency for this situation to reproduce itself.

This is partly because the traditional training in the majority of communication schools in Latin America is centred on technical training for students to answer the needs of traditional systems of mass communication (radio, press and television) and the needs of institutional communication, such as publicity, propaganda, public relations and organizational communication, where the typical model of communication is uni-directional or vertical. Professionals in these fields seek to get their own way and this is easier and, for some social groups, more acceptable. The task in community projects demands considerable ability and sacrifice of higher salary prospects as well as of time, high motivation to obtain an understanding under any circumstances with members of the community, and social identification with community members.

Only in recent years has interest been awakened in various universities of Latin America in incorporating subjects having to do with alternative communication models into the curriculum, or at least into the area of theoretical discussion. Among these schools, the more important ones are the Communication Department of the Autonomous University of Xochimilco in Mexico and the Communication School of the University of Brazilia.

Other efforts are being made in organizations which are not directly related to universities, such as CEPAC, in the National Centre for Training and Investigation for Agrarian Reform in Lima, and in CIESPAL in Quito, where there has been interest in providing experiences of this nature.

But a technical limitation which must be included is the fact that many projects are considered as experiments or pilots without the possibility of continuation on a systematized basis over a period of time. Small scale experiments do not provide the possibility of reproducibility in other conditions, environments and circumstances, while pilot projects are rarely amplified.

Technological limitations

Technological limitations are obvious in the case of urban community communication in Latin America and are separate from some of the technical limitations.

In the first place, there exists a terrible lack of useful equipment for programmes of this kind. This is necessarily associated with the lack of economic resources. Equipment and material costs are high in Latin America. Only in the case of quite large projects which are sponsored by international organizations is it possible to obtain a relaxation of controls to permit importation at reduced cost.

In some countries, communication media are considered an industry which qualifies for tax exemption. But when it is a case of acquiring instruments, equipment and audio-visual materials for co-operatives, official organizations or independent institutions interested in social work, there is no possibility of getting exemption except in rare cases.

Moreover, in the Latin American environment, communication technology still means sophistication, even though some authors speak about middle or low technology.

Few projects establish a maintenance system at the time of acquiring equipment. Large quantities of equipment donated by international organizations have become unusable owing to the lack of a maintenance capacity. Maintenance is either very expensive in the commercial sector or like spare parts, unobtainable.

Institutional limitations

Institutional limitations in urban community communication in Latin America have to do with the state of organizational development in the region, and it is not easy to discuss this in a few

lines. It is perhaps convenient to say that one of the most common problems is that of the competition between institutions, and even within them, between similar departments or divisions. One of the typical cases is that of the traditional competition between what is generally called education for health and communication in public health.

The seriousness of this situation manifests itself not only at management level, but also at operating level, when in the process of reflection and analysis of the problems in communities it is found that what demands attention is needs unrelated to the sector which initiated the investigation. Conflict emerges because it is thought that rules of demarcation have been breached or because there is no wish for work in that area. This usually occurs in non-integrated projects.

Apart from this, the problems of organizational development in Latin America are very frequent, particularly in what is referred to as field work. The administrative organization is full of problems such as a lack of discipline, and of supervisory control, and too much bureaucracy, especially at operational level. This generally has to do with the lack of political, economic and administrative support for community communication projects. Managerial or administrative interest is usually centred on projects that produce more earnings in a short term. To this must be added the political-administrative instability which the majority of Latin American countries have to face, where political democracy has not exactly been the main characteristic in the past fifty years.

Governments are very easily followed by others. And ideas also change. Even in the case of stable governments policies that have to do with animation vary from one person to another. There is no programme continuity, and many projects pass from the height of prestige to being utterly abandoned in a matter of weeks, without any thought for social responsibility or the groups involved, not to mention national or international responsibilities.

The administrative practice in the execution of communication projects in Latin America is the same as for the execution of other projects of a social nature. There is a tendency towards centralization in the planning and production of materials and their distribution.

Decentralization, rarely achieved in practice, implies a technical duty, and involves the adoption of a very determined attitude on the part of those responsible for communication activities. How many people can adopt this attitude? How long will bureaucrats in a large proportion of countries continue to undervalue those who work in contact with marginal groups?

Institutionally as well, one faces problems in techniques of administration. It is common in Latin America to say that the State is a bad administrator. There is not much interest in valuation. Usually projects involving community action run the risk of being easily accepted or refused on 'a priori' criteria because of the greater or lesser public image which has been acquired from some sectors.

Financial limitations

Financial limitations on urban community communication projects in Latin America are not different from similar limitations in other participatory programmes that are clearly unprofitable in the very short term.

In the case of productive projects, of which there are very few in this category, where social participation as an important component is involved, there is a tendency to reduce the reach and significance of what is theoretically defined as community participation. This is because from the point of view of the institution involved in communication planning, generally a government agency, there must be a maximum reduction of uncertainty over the profitability of the investment.

At times this does not fit in with the perception the beneficiaries might have of their own project as far as profitability is concerned. The consequence is that the participation of community members in the decision-making about means and forms of investment and execution of the project is limited.

Community communication projects with a productive interest are very few in Latin America. These are generally located in rural areas and operated by agricultural co-operatives. In urban areas some production co-operatives have been developed in small industries and handicraft shops but there is not much literature to indicate the levels of experience obtained.

Obviously the basic economic obstacle which confronts these kinds of communication project is the lack of capital. Very little is invested by the State in such projects. Perhaps it is more convenient to show an immediate quantification of financial, cultural and social advantages rather than achievement of more remote goals.

Political and ideological limitations

As Meister has pointed out, the analysis of participation has more similarity with studies of popular movements of social and political protest in the history of the worker and revolutionary movements than with the work of social psychology on leadership and the cohesion of small groups.

Applied to community communication with its emphasis on popular participation, this gives the appearance of high ideological and political motivation, even though there is no immediate partisan intention. Here, the political limitations that face community communication at the urban level arise from the typical distrust with which these programmes are viewed by different sectors, especially by the government that sponsors them after proposing a series of conditions. This is a subject all too well known in rural projects and commonly repeated in urban sectors where projects have been stopped due to fear of social conflicts.

Socio-cultural limitations

The innovation diffusion model applied to urban or rural community development has had a tremendous influence on communications in Latin America, regardless of the amount of criticism it has met from different sectors and from new, rival concepts as well, some of which have been briefly analysed in this study. It can be said that a new tradition exists in the traditional countries involving the use of interpersonal and mass media in an indiscriminate and vertically persuasive way, every time one speaks of the need to establish communication links in a sector involved in some problem. This applies both to those responsible for communication projects and those who have to participate in them.

One can therefore speak on 'communication attitudes' among people, and these attitudes affect the participatory models of communication at both urban and rural levels. At the urban level, this is the more likely because of the possibility of copying or empirically modelling traditional forms of vertical or uni-directional communication, due to the greater familiarity in urban sectors with mass and institutional media. Perhaps because of this there is need for investigation into why professionals who are not communicators think they have the capacity to judge other professionals and impute to them little professional importance.

At executive level, an attitude of this nature makes the adoption of a different programme difficult. At community level a diffused traditionalism creates a negative attitude towards change in communication material; people become accustomed to entertaining pictures, pretty posters and leaflets, attractive spot announcements on radio and television, and attention-getting magazines that are well printed. It is difficult to make them accept the idea of participating in communication processes without their doubting the effectiveness of the method in comparison with the modern media they have got used to hearing and seeing. It is, as a result, very easy to react to the idea of campaigns at any level under the influence of notions formed about publicity and propaganda. It is for this reason that there is no way of making content legitimate if it is not expressed by means of the traditional mass media of press, radio and television.

Many authors in the past have pointed out that there exists a resistance to participation in Latin America.

There are many cultural factors that might determine this situation such as: fear of the social responsibility inevitable in participating in communication; classical fears about facing media technology; and the passivity and traditional anonymity of marginal groups--a position which has been fomented over a long period by the attitude of sectors that have had the privilege of administering the means of production in our social systems.

To this one must add the 'free time' factor. Marginal groups have high rates of unemployment, underemployment and jobs giving an extremely low return of wages. This affects the free time available to them to think of things that have nothing to do with daily subsistence living, which in turn conditions the possibility of participation on the part of social groups in activities that are not immediately profitable. In general, there is at certain levels a pessimism of a political and intellectual nature which naturally affects the programmes of community communication.

Frank Gerace, in referring to experiments in community communication in Latin America has criticized the following attitude:

People are ignorant and have nothing to offer in return; although the value of popular expression is recognized as well as a capacity to handle simplified technology, one cannot take the risk that negative elements may infiltrate, for example, political agitators who would, under cover of the people's right to speak, obtain their own ends; and though there is value in a right to self-expression and an ability to handle simplified technology and even in accepting the risks of democratic free speech, one cannot indulge the luxury of stimulating a participatory process of communication in the face of the pressure of time needed to secure the education or development which these less favoured masses need.

Gerace states that all these projects show a lack of confidence in the people and a fixed mentality of orientation towards goals before that of process.

Regarding the last objection that a participatory process takes time--the author has said: 'The only possible answer to this observation is that of remembering that people have their own history. The attitudes and operational habits of a people, a non-technified people, are results of historic processes, and these do not change from one moment to another. The moment of decision on the part of those responsible for taking measures in any specific case does not bear any relation to the history of those affected'.

5. Some questions to stimulate discussion

After this survey of urban community communication in Latin America, various questions emerge that should be discussed, and on which deeper exploration and analysis is required.

1. Are there substantial differences in all the processes of community communication that emphasize participation between urban and rural use?

2. If there is no possibility of participation in other processes or programmes of community development or community activity, where projects of community communication are inserted, and where only communication participation is sought in an isolated way, can one talk about an authentic social participation in social change?

3. What possibility is there that the communication programmes applied in relation to development can be basically converted into generating projects for development programmes instead of being programmes that support development? In programmes that support development the usefulness of communication is perceived from outside the community, and as a consequence, the use and scope of the project depends on the degree of conscientiousness displayed by those who are managing the development programmes for less-favoured communities.

4. What possibility is there that the development of participatory mechanisms of this kind for communication in urban areas can be used for beginning to improve the participation levels of groups organized in the formulation of plans and sectoral planning programmes and, as a consequence, in the formulation of national development plans? What political, ideological, methodological, and financial limitations would render this possibility unrealistically utopian given the context in which the dependent nations of the Third World are developing?

5. Is community communication in the urban context more of a threat to professionalism in communication than when it is applied in rural context?

6. Is it possible to carry out urban participatory models of communication if there is no participation by the social groups in the management of the organizations which sponsor these models?

7. Can participatory models of communication exist at an urban level in parallel with the existence of models of mass, vertical, highly technical, efficient and persuasive media?

8. To what extent do the actual theoretical models about community communication with social participation seem too ambitious, and should one settle for a combination of participatory with traditional vertical media in order to give a system a secure footing, searching afterwards for better participation levels?

9. Have we reached the point where the present media used for urban community communication are too simplistic for the growing expectations that the population may have regarding communication technology? How much should we attribute a lack of confidence in this kind of technology to an unfavourable comparison with the sophisticated technology of mass media? Up to what point can technology be demystified, and what importance does the demystifying of technology have in the process of structural change which seeks to encourage the access and participation of more social groups in the communication process?

10. What media used in what way allow a greater participation and involvement on the part of urban community members?

11. Is it only the technical problems associated with administrative and organizational systems which impede the development of urban community communication projects and programmes?

12. Do notions of participation in communication at the community level constitute a danger for the economic, financial and technical stability of mass media owned by the state or private enterprise?

13. Does the practice of community participatory communication constitute a danger for the social stability of the communities where it is applied?

14. Which ways of conceptualizing, operating and administering community systems involving community participation would be most likely to produce social instability?

15. What conditions of a socio-psychological nature in urban communities could produce situations of social conflict with grave repercussions for the community, given an incentive, use of community media and active social participation from the urban population?

16. Does urban community communication entail, as far as notions of access and participation are concerned, the need to train communication professionals at an intermediate level who can work in urban communities, or on the contrary, does it call for the deprofessionalization of communicators so as to work in community communication?

17. Does enthusiasm of community members for participation in the community communication process last? Under what conditions and forms of participation is the individual or collective participation of the people more lasting?

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Chapter 10

NORTH AMERICA

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NORTH AMERICA

	Page
1. Introduction	189
2. Origins of community media	190
3. Origins and regulations of community cable programming in North America	192
4. Community television case studies	194
4.1. Rogers Cable TV, Toronto	194
4.2. Berks Community Television, Reading, Pennsylvania	195
4.3. Cerracche Cable Television, Ithaca, New York	196
4.4. Channel L Working Group, New York	198
5. Community media via satellite	201
6. Community radio in North America	203
7. References	207

1. Introduction

The status and the future of urban community media in North America (the United States and Canada) are heavily influenced by the development, growth and inexpensive availability of the 'new communications technologies': cable television, interactive computer technology and satellites. The more traditional community media, print, radio and video remain firmly established as important community information sharing tools; but these traditional media are gradually being overshadowed by what is often referred to as the 'new TV' -- community cable - casting, two-way and interactive cable TV systems and special interest 'ad hoc' national cable television networks, linked to cable systems in all fifty U.S. states via satellite.

Aside from a section on community radio and broadcast community television, this study emphasizes the roles of these new emerging communications technologies, particularly community (cable) television in the urban North American setting. There are three reasons for this narrow focus. First, as ways of sharing information in North American society have become increasingly centralized and high-technology-oriented (for example, national television networks and corporate uses of computer and satellite communications technologies), it is important to examine the status and potential of community uses of these technologies. This is particularly crucial since the capability for instant dissemination of information to the entire North American population as well as any individual geographical area rests primarily with the corporate and government sectors of the population. Second, community television is the most widely utilized form of community information sharing in the USA. Third, a detailed exploration of community television and the roles of other new communications technologies in community media will make the most useful contribution to Unesco's urban community media studies.

There are many similarities between Canada and the United States. Both are highly literate nations, most of all whose inhabitants live in comfortable, modern homes supplied with running water, electricity and a host of other conveniences. The important demographic differences between the two countries emerge when one compares land mass, population distribution and climate.

The Canadian land mass measures over 235,000 square miles larger than the US land mass (3,851,889 sq. mi. vs. 3,615,211 sq. mi.). The population of Canada is approximately 23.3 m. Compared to the 220.1 m. US inhabitants, Canada has roughly one-tenth the population of the US inhabiting a considerably more expansive land mass. Statistics indicate that over ninety per cent of the Canadian population lives within two hundred miles of the US border, and most major cities are either directly on the border or very close. This is in contrast to the major US cities, scattered across the range of the nation, often situated on navigable waterways.

In Canada, although the bulk of population lives in and around the major cities, there are still numerous small population clusters scattered throughout the country. Many of these settlements are a considerable distance from cities, and some are not accessible by land vehicles or boats. In contrast, the US is a more densely populated nation, with virtually every town accessible by road from anywhere in the country.

Climate is another factor that distinguishes Canada from the US. Most Canadian cities are considerably colder than US cities, excepting those of Alaska. Particularly in the north of Canada, the cold has shaped the life styles of the inhabitants. The cold temperatures, snow and isolation from the rest of Canada serves to autonomize many small towns, as well as whole regions of Canada.

Electronic communications constitute an area in which the Canadians excel. Large empty distances between cities and often, hundreds of miles between small towns, have given Canadians the impetus to establish a sophisticated communications infrastructure. Canada has 61.8 telephones per 100 population, making it number two in the world, behind only the US, with 74.4 per 100. Next to the US, Canada also has more radios (1,011) and television sets (428) per 1000 population than any other nation (the US has 1882 radios and 571 television sets per 1000 population).

Both the USA and Canada are urban societies. Williams defines urban society as one in which

> 'a large population--certainly more than half--of the population resides in large closely settled aggregates, in which the proportion of the work force in agriculture and other extractive pursuits is low and the division of labour is elaborate, and in which a relatively complex technology permits the continued existence of such dense conglomerates over extended periods.'
>
> (Williams, 1967: 3-4)

Community media in North America can be characterized as urban community media, a product and expression of urban community communication needs. The conceptualization of North American community media stretches far beyond the production of television and radio programmes within a particular geographical area; a coherent community can span the globe as well as the city limits. There is often talk of the 'academic community,' the 'medical community,' and so on. Members of trade unions comprise a special interest community although they might have local chapters in hundreds of cities nationwide.

Community media are special interest media, designed for a specific community of interested people. Community television, for example, as opposed to traditional commercial broadcast television, is not designed to cater for the interests of a mass audience. The goal of commercial broadcasting, above all, is to sell viewer attention to advertisers.

Community television is produced with community needs in mind, as opposed to marketing needs. Typically, community television is not produced by broadcast professionals but by community producers or laypeople in their spare time. It is often regarded as a two-way medium, since community members are encouraged to feed back to programme producers, and to supply the ideas and talent for future community programmes. In contrast, commercial television is a passive-receptive medium. Viewer participation in programme content development is rarely solicited.

2. Origins of community media

The origins of community television in North America can be traced back to two seminal projects which employed the media of film and video. These are the Fogo Project (Newfoundland, Canada) and the Skyriver Project (Alaska, USA). They serve as classic frames of reference for the variety of community television experiments which have occurred over the past ten years.

The Fogo experiment, a project undertaken by the Extension Service of Memorial University in St. John's, Newfoundland and the Challenge for Change unit of the National Film Board of Canada in 1967, is commonly regarded as the first North American project to utilize film as a power-levelling tool provoking social change. Fogo Island, off the coast of Newfoundland, was faced with a rapidly declining economy. The small, local communities were at odds with each other; the main industry, fishing, had all but collapsed; young people were abandoning the island. The fishing industry needed boats if it was to survive, and the fishing co-operatives had disbanded. The majority of the fishermen were unemployed. The only solution to the ills of Fogo seemed to be resettlement.

Colin Low, project director for the National Film Board, went to Fogo with the intention of doing a series of documentaries on the problems facing the islanders. He explains:

> '...I thought that I would make one, or perhaps two or three films. But as the project developed, I found that the people were much freer when I made short vertical films; each one the record of a single interview, or a single occasion. In the end I did not do any intercutting at all, because if you intercut people on the basis of issues, what usually happens is that you get one person who is all wrong, one person who is partially right, and a third who is right. He becomes the smart guy who puts the others down. This putting down can harm the people within a community.'
>
> (Low, Gwyn, 1972:5)

Low finally produced twenty-eight short films, each being the record of a particular personality or event rather than being issue-oriented. The films were straightforward expressions of the facts of life on Fogo Island.

Low edited the films, brought them back to Fogo, and arranged group viewings all over the island. Hostile factions viewed each others' films, and were exposed to differing points of view without having to confront their adversaries face to face. 'Through looking at each other and themselves, Fogo Islanders began to recognize the commonality of their problems ... they began to become conscious of their identity as Fogo Islanders' (Gwyn, 1972:5). They realized that preserving their common heritage was a concern they all shared. Thereafter, the differing factions began to unite in a shared effort to save their way of life from extinction. A screening of the films by government Cabinet Ministers was arranged through a co-operative effort of the Film Board and Memorial University. Low comments:

> 'We finally had the fishermen talking to Cabinet Ministers. If you take fishermen to the Cabinet, they will not talk about the problems of their lives the way they will among other fishermen. But if you let government people look at films of fishermen talking together, the message comes through.'
>
> (Low, Gwyn, 1972:7)

In turn, the Cabinet Ministers' reactions were filmed and brought back to the islanders for viewing. This helped to instil a sense of worth and confidence in the islanders and served as a record of the commitments that the Cabinet Ministers made to the islanders.

Fogo Island was restored. The people lost their sense of 'copelessness' (as distinguished from apathy) and built up their island, problems notwithstanding, to a level of economic prosperity that could support the inhabitants. 'The ... people of Fogo are no longer easily put down' (Gwyn, 1972:7).

It should be noted that the film shot on the Fogo Island was not taken to government officials without the consent of the people who appeared in them. This speaks for the mutual trust and respect that formed between Low and the Islanders. They were filmed either alone or among friends. This is quite different from the intimidating situation a citizen would confront testifying before a Cabinet Minister in a public hearing, or if he or she were to speak out in the presence of contradictory opinions.

Skyriver was a film and video feedback project conducted in rural Alaska by Tim Kennedy, a community organizer who was working with native populations in several remote towns. It took place between 1969 and 1973, two years after Fogo. The initial impetus for the project came from Don Snowdon, Director of the Extension Division, Memorial University, Newfoundland. Snowdon had co-ordinated Memorial University's involvement in the Fogo experiment.

Kennedy was not a filmmaker or an educator. Rather, his interest grew out of his role as a community organizer, and his recognition of the desperate need of the Eskimos to be able to influence their own future. Working with an Eskimo community organizer, Kennedy's aim was to spread information so that the people could become aware of choices that were available to them--culturally, socially and politically. Which choices were made was entirely up to the villagers Kennedy worked with, not Kennedy. Kennedy established a relationship of mutual trust with the various Eskimo populations he dealt with. He would talk to community members, isolate a series of issues and then produce a series of filmed interviews centred on those issues. The format of the interview was completely determined by the interviewee down to the smallest detail; and if she/he did not like the way the interview turned out, there was always the option to throw it away and begin again.

As Colin Low comments:

> 'Only with playback of a real image of our performance do we realize the inadequacy of our image projection.'
> (Low, Canadian Radio-Television Commission, 1974:21)

Before politically oriented films were taken out of the villages, they were first approved by the community as representing a point of view that community members wanted to express to outsiders. Many films remained with the individuals and villages that made them, but several films were shown to appropriate civil servants.

Bureaucrats viewing these films were deeply moved. Because of their rank, they never were the ones who dealt directly with the natives. Often, they never actually came in contact with the real community leaders. The Eskimos they dealt with were representatives whom not all considered to be real village people.

The villagers felt the impact of the viewings. They sensed their own power for the first time as government officials reacted to the films. Film is a much more all-encompassing medium than video. Film is viewed in a dark room, the image is enormous and there are no distractions, unlike the video screening process. The officials who viewed the films were asked to respond back to the villagers on videotape. Their remarks were stored as a record of their points of view and the commitments they had made.

Most important, the Skyriver process built up a sense of community consciousness and power among the villagers involved. It taught them that they could stand up for their rights and adequately express themselves to the rich, powerful, educated government official. They learned their opinions do count and their own perceived needs can evoke positive governmental response. The Alaska State Department of Education changed its policies because of the impact achieved by a small Eskimo village. Regional high schools were constructed to meet their demands. Similar results were achieved in issues relating to housing.

Fogo and Skyriver illustrated a process which is transferable to a variety of settings. Drawing on these and other community media projects the following conclusions are offered:

> The process of community media takes considerable dedication. The project organizer has to win the trust and respect of the participants, and has to be prepared to invest a substantial amount of time and energy in a community with a media project.
>
> The process must be organized by an individual who functions as project facilitator. His or her role is to assist, but not to control the process.
>
> The goal of the process is not to produce a television programme or a film. It is to facilitate community organization, information-sharing, problem-solving and, eventually, social change. A television programme might be a bi-product or part of the process.
>
> Community media efforts must be properly financed and staffed. Lack of adequate financial resources forces short-cuts which can easily jeopardize the process.
>
> Promoting feedback between the government and community constituencies, or other project participants is a vital component of the process. 'But the concept of feedback is an empty one unless the right to be heard is accompanied by the right to have action taken on the opinions expressed.'
>
> (Canadian Department of Communications Study 6B:12)

3. Origins and Regulations of Community Cable Programming in North America

There are important differences in the evolution of local community programming in the United States and Canada.

Cable television came to Canada before broadcast television. In the late 1940s, only a small segment of the Canadian population could watch television. This was because they lived close enough to the US border to pick up signals. It seemed reasonable to assume that many other people would be willing to pay for the use of a special community antenna that could pick up a distant television signal where a rooftop antenna could not.

Community antenna systems sprouted around the densely populated regions of Southern Ontario, British Columbia and Quebec. Even as Canadian television began broadcasting, people were still anxious to hook up to the cable because it brought them a larger variety of broadcast signals. In addition, reception was perfect. As cities got larger and buildings taller, the cable connection has often become essential merely to get good reception.

Today, most Canadian households subscribe to a cable television service; 5.5 million of the 7.3 million homes in Canada are passed by cable and 467 systems are licensed. Over 3.8 million television households subscribe--over half the homes in the country. The growth of cable television in Canada can be characterized as an urban phenomenon. Cable is most Canadians' only access to the US television stations. American television programmes are popular in Canada, as Canadian broadcasting is in no position to compete with the resources of Hollywood.

Eventually the Canadian government decided that the cable industry needed to be closely regulated and the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) was created in the Broadcasting Act of 1968 with powers to oversee cable television.

Some cable operators began to originate community programming over an available cable channel, and found that the CRTC respected their efforts. Community programming became a yardstick indicating an interest in preserving a sense of community and Canadian identity. Franchises were won and lost based on a company's record in community programming. A 1975 CRTC policy statement expected 'licensees to seek out communities of interest within their service area and to encourage them to give expression to their interests and concerns' (CRTC, 1975:3).

Since cable television franchises operate as local monopolies, the CRTC wanted to make sure that systems operated with a sense of accountability to their clients. Community channel staffs began to develop organized processes for getting the community interested in the channel. These processes are often referred to as 'animating' the community.

Cable television began as a rural phenomenon in the United States. The cities all had television stations in the late 1940s; but many smaller towns could not receive any television signals at all. They were either too far away from a city, or hilly terrain blocked signal reception. Cable businesses were primarily family businesses. Many cable systems were developed in order to sell television sets.

In 1950, cable systems were operating in only 70 communities in the United States; and these systems served just 14,000 subscribers. By the end of 1977, more than 3,900 cable systems served over 13 million subscribers in about 9300 communities. By 1979, over 20 per cent of all American households were subscribing to cable.

The Federal Communications Commission (FCC) assumed regulatory control over the cable industry in 1965, but has never assumed any control over the franchising process. A cable company must seek a franchise from a local governing body in order to operate in a community. Over the years, the FCC has developed guidelines and regulations for the US cable industry; but cable has never (in contrast to what has happened in Canada) been regulated as a broadcast entity. Rather, cable is considered to be a common carrier, a plumbing system of sorts. The cable company is not seen as an originator of programming as much as a transmission system.

Unlike Canada, the US is not being bombarded with foreign programming. Community television does not have to be mandated as a tool to put more American programming on the screen; but the FCC has recognized the value of community television in an era of programming dominated by national television networks.

In 1972, the FCC ruled that four types of access must be made available to the public. These include: general public access open to anyone; educational access available to local educational institutions; municipal access for local governments to use; and leased access available to commercial users for a fee. Public, educational and municipal access must all be operated non-commercially.

In 1978, the Supreme Court of the United States determined, in Midwest Video vs. the FCC, that the FCC does not have the right to mandate access. An April 1979 Supreme Court ruling confirmed the Midwest decision. The government decided to deregulate cable. The industry would be their own watchdogs, and would be under a moral obligation to promote every community service aspect of cable as finances permitted. Still several states have their own cable commissions and their own prerequisites for cable operation within their state.

The early 1980s in the United States are like the early 1960s in Canada so far as the cable television industry is concerned. Few cities have cable services as yet. Most are still in the process of accepting bids for franchising. A furious war is on between cable companies to win available franchises.

All of a sudden, the role of community programming is becoming important for US cable operators. A good record of community service can help a company win a franchise in another city. Even so, less than 20 per cent of all cable operators subsidize any kind of community television programming over their system.

4. Community television case studies

4.1 Rogers Cable T.V., Toronto, Ontario

Rogers Cable TV is one of the largest cable television systems in North America. A fast growing company, Rogers recently acquired several other cable companies, including Canadian Cablesystems, Ltd., and operates several franchises in the United States.

Rogers Cable TV in Toronto has existed for 13 years and has grown in subscribership from 25,000 in 1967 to well over 200,000 in 1980. Eighty-two per cent of the residences that the company is licensed to serve subscribe to cable. The community channel has a staff of 38 and three separate production centres: its programmers attempt to serve the needs of metro-area residents in the three different Rogers franchise areas.

The programming staff operated on a budget of CAN $ 1.8 million in 1979. Apart from the community channels, Rogers provides subscribers with other special service channels which include: live proceedings from Parliament in Ottawa via satellite, digital news, digital weather, TV guide, airline schedules, stock market reports, a consumer information channel, academic courses, and re-broadcast channels for children and adults. In addition to the separate programming that goes on at each studio, some is shared among the three studios.

The Rogers Cable studios have two primary production functions: access and local origination. Both of these functions are equally supported and encouraged. People are encouraged to produce their own programmes, and can get as deeply involved in the techniques of studio, mobile or portable production as they want. Formal training sessions are conducted at all three studios. There are also two well equipped mobile colour vans which are used to cover meetings and sporting events. The cable systems have been constructed so that programming can originate from many points including city halls, and most hotels. In addition, the company has just purchased a portable microwave system so that live programming can originate from a van situated almost anywhere in the Toronto metropolitan area. In addition to the company's access provisions, Rogers programming staff initiates and produces programming on their own, such as local sporting events not covered by other area media organizations.

The staff includes a community animator who is an outreach worker for the channel. He or she informs the community about the channel and helps people to decide if their interests and objectives justify utilizing its facilities.

The animator refers people who are interested in using the channel to a community producer. The role of the community producer is to try to help the potential user translate ideas into a television programme. Anyone interested in using the community channel must first consult a community producer for assistance in making sure that the production is undertaken as well as possible. The community producer will follow a production through from the beginning to its completion. He or she will arrange for community members involved in the production to receive video equipment training if they desire, and will make sure that the facilities and staff are in place at the right time to get the job done.

Other staff conduct training sessions in portable, studio and mobile production. The office manager co-ordinates equipment loan, schedules training sessions, handles local advertising concerning training sessions and other special events, distributes informational brochures to the public and advises the press and the public at large about the community channel.

4.2. Berks Community Television, Reading, Pennsylvania

Reading, Pennsylvania is a medium-sized town of 88,000 located 150 miles due west of New York City. The Reading cable television system is one of the most highly praised in the United States because of the pioneering experiments in interactive programming that have originated there.

In 1972, the Alternate Media Centre of New York University was looking for a town in which to conduct a research project in interactive, two-way audio and visual television programming. The cable television system in existence in Reading, Berks Cable Company (now owned by Time, Inc.) was constructed so that the technical aspects of handling two-way television could be built into the system without great difficulty.

Reading has a high proportion of senior citizens--much higher (16 per cent) than the national average. As in many communities, the old people remained mostly aloof from community organizations and activities. Society disregards the aged. They are left to feel unwanted, isolated, waiting to die. The New York University Project had the goal of integrating the senior citizen population back into the society which had alienated them. Funding for the project was provided by the National Science Foundation, not the local cable company.

The interactive system was conceived as a tool to meet the needs of the senior citizens. Three neighbourhood communication centres were linked via two-way cable with each other, and with the social service agencies that served the needs of the old people. Two senior citizens' housing projects and a shopping centre were connected to the interactive system along with the offices of the mayor of Reading, city council members and county commissioners. The social security office, courthouse, high schools, hospitals, colleges and community centres in the area were soon brought into the system. Studios were built in the housing projects and shopping centre. Portable equipment could easily be set up and wired into the system from any other locations, if the particular facility did not have a studio. The signals were mixed and sent out over the cable system from the head-end. Black and white video equipment was chosed for the experiment, as it is fairly easy to operate.

Alternate Media Centre personnel trained users in how to operate the video equipment. The focus of the project was not to give government agencies a tool with which to communicate with an alienated population. Rather it was on having the senior citizens use cable television to obtain public services and communicate with other segments of the Reading community. The system was used for old people to communicate with themselves as well as with local service providers. They used the system for group singing between origination centres, discussions of local history, poetry readings, and cooking lessons. The kinds of social service programming produced in Reading evolved out of discussions between the senior citizens and the agencies, via the two way system. Viewers at home could also participate. They could call in to the various cablecast locations and ask questions of the programme participants.

The two-and-a-half year experiment began in 1974 and ended in 1977. During the experiment, programming took place for two hours each morning during weekdays. Programmes were conceptualized and produced entirely by senior citizens. It was their system. They received technical assistance and advice from technicians trained by the New York University Alternate Media Centre only as they required it; but the system was considered their home ground. They were the ones who invited the mayor, or representatives of social welfare agencies to participate in the programming. In her article on the Reading system, Elton states:

> ... Berks Community TV has already achieved much that it set out to do. It has changed the lives of the senior citizens in Reading, and forced other people to revise their stereotypes of old people. Some who have become isolated and withdrawn and others who had stopped taking an interest in their personal appearance were sparked into taking a new interest in themselves and their lives. Due in part to the new status Berks Community TV has conferred on senior citizens, it has provided a focus for energies which might otherwise have atrophied (Elton, NFLCE Newsletter, Fall, 1977:12).

The major effects that the two-way system had on programme participants were increased interest and participation in three general areas: knowledge about public services, involvement in political processes and participation in social and community affairs. The major factor determining programme participation for the old people was their physical capability. Over 1000 senior citizens participated in the project by physically visiting one of the three origination centres; 85 per cent of the 40,000 cable subscribers watched an interactive programme at least once a week.

The interactive programming in Reading continues to this date. The involvement of New York University and the National Science Foundation ceased in 1977; but since the two-way television network had always been run by its users, the system did not collapse when New York University stopped administering it. Rather, it expanded.

Berks Community Television was formed into a non-profit corporation to continue to administer the interactive system. A variety of organizations participate along with the senior citizens. The system can also be used for other purposes. For example, a guest lecturer, or a film can be simultaneously delivered to different high schools and college classes. Berks Community Television currently produces 12 hours of live interactive programming every week, with the senior citizen programming still occurring in the late morning hours.

Funds for the interactive system are currently being provided by local community agencies and businesses, national foundations and federal grants. Berks Cable company has also begun to finance the system.

4.3 Cerracche Cable Television, Ithaca, New York

Ithaca, New York is a university town of 50,000 located midway between Toronto and New York City, 250 miles from each. Approximately one-third of the population consists of students, and most full-time residents work for either Cornell University, Ithaca College or several factories in town.

Cable television is not new to Ithaca. The history of this industry in Ithaca dates back to 1958. The hilly terrain coupled with a distance of over 50 miles from the nearest television broadcast tower meant that the town could not receive any television signals whatsoever. With this in mind, Anthony Cerracche, a local businessman, decided to build a community antenna television system. This saga is the history of the majority of cable television systems in the United States.

Over the years, and in response to FCC rulemakings, special interest group requests, and his general interest in the well-being of the community Cerracche implemented a variety of community television programming projects, all of which his company funded. At times, Cerracche went beyond the basic franchise requirements of a small studio and minimal video equipment.

The company's office, head-end and studio is located in downtown Ithaca, and access to the system is also available from two local colleges; but Cerracche's special investment in programming centred round the development of a local Ithaca news programme screened five nights a week in the mid-1970s. He hired a staff, built up the studio, supplied it with modest colour equipment, and purchased portable colour portapaks in addition to the black and white portapaks already being used for public access programming. Volunteers from nearby Ithaca College helped to produce the nightly news.

Unfortunately, the news operation failed. Cerracche thought he could generate enough advertising revenue to cover costs; but he was wrong. The news show cost him too much to operate, even quasi-professionally. A 1974 FCC decision no longer requiring local organization as the responsibility of a local cable operator supplied yet another inducement for Cerracche to scale down his costly investment in local programming. The news programme, and several other spin-offs from that programme were discontinued in 1977.

The Ithaca College School of Communications, which has the capability to originate programming over the cable system from their own studio, began to produce a weeknight news programme in response to the cancellation of Cerracche's local origination. The College trains students

to enter the broadcasting profession, and the local cable system serves as a good outlet for their programming, much of which is community oriented (talk shows, documentaries, musical programmes and news). A local community college is also capable of programme origination and offers several courses over the cable system.

The Ithaca Community Access Interest Group (CAIG) grew out of the 1976 FCC decision on local origination, although the rulemaking supported community access. CAIG formed as a political body to influence the city cable commission to support access provisions in its granting of a new franchise to Cerracche, whose old franchise was to expire at the end of 1977. CAIG was also the organization that ran community access. On a volunteer basis, they trained people to use the video equipment, scheduled programming and filled all of the other roles necessary so that community access could be facilitated. Cerracche provided only studio space and equipment.

In co-operation with the Tompkins County Arts Council, CAIG received a half-time paid employee who functioned as access co-ordinator. He spent most of his time documenting the arts in Ithaca (as his salary was subsidized by the Arts Council), and helping the city's public library establish the capability for programme origination.

Cerracche did not apply to renew his franchise. Instead, he sold his company to American Television and Communications Corporation (Time, Inc.) in late 1977. There were 19,000 subscribers.

ATC was awarded the franchise and took over service in January, 1978. ATC had agreed to consider the possibility of hiring a full-time access co-ordinator, although they managed to get the franchise approved without an access provision that would make such a post obligatory.

By late winter 1978, ATC had yet to hire an access co-ordinator. Programming was still being steadily produced during the academic year by Ithaca College and the community college. The library soon began programming a community information service. Tompkins Community Access, and organization of local independent video producers, began to cablecast their programmes as well.

Community access programming was characterized by extremely low technical standards, except when the programming originated at one of the colleges. Tompkins Community Access cablecast a variety of local documentaries. For example, a programme was produced concerning the construction of a new road which would leave some area residents homeless. By spring 1978, programming had reached 10 to 15 hours a week.

CAIG was non-existent by the spring of 1978. Tompkins Community Access assumed CAIG's role and was co-ordinating all the community access programming with a staff made up completely of volunteers. Workshops trained about 40 persons in the use of video equipment, as the organization was fortunate to have two full-time volunteers, a programme and equipment co-ordinator and a business director. Tompkin Community Access began to work with local social service organizations and government agencies, helping them produce programmes, and trying to build up a local constituency in support of community programming.

In 1979, ATC finally hired a full-time access co-ordinator, purchased some new equipment for community access. Although extremely competent, the access co-ordinator finds the job too demanding for one person. He has to be in charge of production, community animation, supervision of the studio facility, and dozens of other details. In addition, he is on a low salary considering the demands of his job, and the financial resources of the cable company.

The Tompkins Community Access Group is less active than in the past. Many of the hard-core members had become disillusioned, disappointed and discouraged. This leaves the access co-ordinator with even more work.

In the spring of 1980, a meeting was held at Cornell University at which the status and future of community programming in Ithaca was discussed. A representative from ATC's home office attended the meeting, along with the general manager of the local cable company and interested members of the Ithaca community.

At the meeting, ATC affirmed their interest in supporting local programming efforts; but so far as the company is concerned, community television in Ithaca attracts little public interest. The system is not actively used and few people take an interest in watching the channel. It does not have a reputation for good programming. Technically poor, boring shows serve to further alienate viewers day after day. ATC is reluctant to subsidize such a system.

The situation described above is not unique to Ithaca, New York, but is the status of community programming in most U.S. communities that never received an initial financial subsidy with which to develop viable community programming, The current level of financing is just enough to keep the system going so that it can fail miserably ($20,000 per year). Underfinancing the system serves to perpetuate this situation.

The answer to Ithaca's problems lies in finding additional funding sources for community television aside from the cable company. Unfortunately, this is a particularly difficult undertaking, as the community programming record is poor. Foundations and other funding sources will not give the cable company money for community programming. Fund-raising has to be the job of an independent community television organization that has the time and determination to cultivate viable community programming.

4.4. Channel L Working Group, New York, New York

Channel L is a highly innovative municipal access channel offered to the 170,000 homes subscribing to either of the two cable television systems in the borough of Manhattan, Manhattan Cable TV and Teleprompter Manhattan Cable TV. This is the largest concentration of cable television subscribers in the United States.

There are under a dozen cable television systems in the United States which make active use of their allotted municipal access channel. Municipal access channels are supposed to function as communication conduits between city governments and citizens and between government and its employees, but most cities do not use them. They are not sure what municipal access could do for them. They are hesitant to invest money in this new communication medium that they know nothing about. It is partly for this reason that Channel L is not administered by, and has yet to receive funds from, the City of New York.

Channel L (it is called 'L' because the viewer finds it on the special cable television channel selector at position 'L') is administered by the Channel L Working Group Inc., a non-profit technical assistance organization that provides money and production services to qualified users of New York City's Channel L.

The Channel L Working Group grew out of the programming department at Manhattan Cable TV. They came up with the idea of initiating an evening, city government issue-oriented talk show. The show was quite popular, and led to a strong user demand for more programming of the same type. A special organization, the Channel L Working Group, was established to administer what became New York City's municipal access channel.

In 1976, New York City was not in a financial position to fund Channel L, so Manhattan Cable agreed to underwrite the project. The Channel L Working Group has also received funds from various foundations and government grants.

The New York City Office of Telecommunications has identified four categories of users for Channel L. An organization must fit into one of the four categories in order to use the system. These include: government agencies, departments and institutions, community boards, elected officials and non-profit public interest organizations. Approximately 40 groups have used Channel L over the past three years, and about 25 of them are current users.

Channel L has two full-time employees in charge of programme co-ordination. Their salaries and office expenses are paid directly by the Working Group. The Working Group also employs two government subsidized employees provided under a federal youthwork programme, and has 15 trainees. The local universities are anxious to have students train with the Group, as they receive invaluable first hand broadcast experience.

ductions take place in Manhattan at the Centre for Non-broadcast Television, a non-profit production house. Production funds go directly for Manhattan Cable TV to the Centre for Non-broadcast Television.

All programming is live and takes place on Wednesday evenings throughout the year. All programmes are audio-interactive (phone-in) and the Working Group produces three and a half hours of programming each week. Viewers are invited to call in and discuss the issues at hand with the programme guests. These live programmes are replayed the remaining six nights of the week for people who missed the live programming. During the day, Channel L offers subscribers the opportunity to view live proceedings from the Congress of the United States, Washington D. C. The proceedings are sent via satellite. Any cable television system in the United States with a satellite earth station receiving antenna can cablecast these proceedings free of charge, if they choose. The Channel L Working Group also assembles and cablecasts a community bulletin board--a pre-taped digital display of information listing community meetings, and social, political and cultural information.

The Channel L Working Group programme co-ordinator can give many examples of how Channel L programming has influenced city policy. Programmes with community board members have given them new ideas and insights into specific issues. (Community boards are appointed by elected city officials and help to formulate the city budget, monitor municipal services and land use changes). Community groups and governments from other cities constantly request copies of programmes dealing with issues they are facing.

The Channel L Working Group does not videotape or present live meetings on television. The programme co-ordinator does not believe that meetings should be television experiences. They are long, drawn out and boring, and the viewer plays a passive role. Instead, if a community board is, for example, going to hold a hearing concerning the proposed construction of a new high-rise building, the Working Group will produce a programme on the subject in advance of the hearing. The programme serves to advertise the hearing and inform people about the issues in advance so that they can go out and actively participate in the hearing.

The purpose of the Working Group is to show that it is important to discuss community issues on television, and that there is a viewership for these issues. This is a difficult educational process but one which might be attempted for national committees as well.

The Channel L Working Group has received tremendous press coverage. A recent Manhattan Cable TV survey estimates that approximately 10,000 people watch the weekly programme. Channel L programming is filling a void that the City did not fill, and now cannot control.

The Channel L Working Group would like the City of New York to start financing their programming, as Manhattan Cable is planning to cut their subsidization of the Group. The programme co-ordinator has suggested that each city department should receive a certain amount of money for community programming. The Manhattan Cable funding for three years gave the city the chance to test the system without paying. In turn, the Channel L Working Group has developed a constituency of city organizations that have demonstrated an immediate need for municipal access. Every other municipal access channel in the United States is financed by the local city government. Channel L is the rare exception.

The Working Group would like the City to take the operating expenses of the municipal access channel out of the franchise fee that the local cable companies pay each year in order that they may use the public highways (streets, etc.) to lay their cables and other equipment.

The Channel L Working Group is a highly political entity. Manhattan Cable could not possibly take responsibility for Channel L programming because the information discussed on the programmes is extremely controversial. Sensitive issues are critically analysed and mass public input is solicited. Needless to say, much of the programming is critical of the City of New York. City officials and City programmes and projects are discussed, and in the process, they are often heavily criticized. Manhattan Cable TV's parent company, Time, Inc., is fighting to win additional franchises within the City limits. Time, Inc. needs to position itself favourably in the eyes of the City franchising board. This board, co-ordinated through the Office of Telecommunications, is part of the same organization that is supposed to be running

the municipal access channel. In the beginning, Manhattan Cable TV financed Channel L partly because they thought that this undertaking would make a good impresson on the City when they came to apply for a subscriber rate increase. Now, Manhattan Cable TV is far more cautious and wants to withdraw from Channel L completely.

The City Office of Telecommunications would very much like to have content control over Channel L programming. They would like to decide on the issues and the programme guests. To the displeasure of the Office of Telecommunications, Channel L programming has put many of the city's officials and programmes in embarrassing positions. This issue of who determines which of the qualified users get time slots is all important. Currently, a selection board consisting of city officials, cable company representatives and the community makes such decisions.

Community organization and community-supported social change involves much more than making TV shows. The process starts with education. Channel L wants to develop procedures that will facilitate information sharing rather than allow for control mechanisms. It appears that their organization, as an autonomous intermediary, protects the integrity of municipal access programming in New York City.

Conclusions

Each of the community media organizations dealt with in this section has many unique problems of its own. They also share many of the same problems. Most common problems centre round money, having a small staff and limited time resources.

Funding

Given the degree of financial support that each of the organizations has, they are not capable of fulfilling many of the objectives that they have in mind. Even in the United States, where the community television organization can operate as a non-profit corporation and can solicit funds completely separately from cable company funding, great difficulties are encountered. Foundations, the government, and other sources of financial assistance tend to regard the community television component of a cable system as being one and the same as the cable company. Funding sources are reluctant to give a community television organization a lot of money to air quality programming over a cable system owned by a rich company like Time, Inc., or Warner Communications. Such a contribution is seen as a direct promotion of that company. Time, Inc. has used tapes of the Reading interactive senior citizen programming in a variety of public presentations, but the cable company did not contribute a penny to the Reading experiment.

Another fact about money that surfaces in this comparative analysis is that it takes a certain minimum investment of capital in a cable system's community channel to give community programming a good local reputation. A certain threshold level must be reached with regard to funding and staffing a community channel before it can be regarded as a quality service. Insufficient financing of the system, as in the case of Ithaca, New York, leaves the programming staff hopelessly desperate in their programming efforts, and alienates the community from the channel, including any useful services it might provide.

Staff

The function of the staff in a community television organization is of utmost importance. Staffs formulate policies and priorities. They have to work within their limited resources as efficiently as possible in an effort to create a viable community channel. The overriding function of the staff is to get information out to the public that the public needs to know; and that information is almost always dispensed in the form of television programming. Programming may be divided into three basic categories. The first is passive access: waiting for community organizations and individuals to express interest in using the community channel. Depending on the cable system, they might have to operate the video equipment themselves, or supply the ideas and talent, while the technical components of the production are supplied by the channel's staff. Passive access is the most common type of programming on community channels. Passive access users tend to be middle class, educated citizens. They are often involved in other community organizations and want to use the medium of television to extend their organization's community influence. Another common user who does not need much encouragement

to get involved with community television is the 'video freak.' This user is involved for the sake of the technology. He or she likes television production as a process in and of itself. Passive access programming on behalf of the staff assumes that citizens should take the initiative to seek out the community television facility.

Community animation is the second staff programming category. This involves publicizing the community channel. Citizens are encouraged to use the community channel, or at least, to remember that all social problems should not be addressed via community television.

Local origination is the third programming category. This is when staff initiate the programme. It may be coverage of a local sporting event, or a social documentary.

The recruitment of volunteers is another crucial function of the community channel staff, particularly at a smaller facility.

Limited time resources

Virtually all community channel staffers are overworked. Most are underpaid, as well. They put in long hours under less than ideal circumstances, and their job is never done. A particular problem that time restraints impose has to do with the degree that community animators can get involved with community sharing; but they must also produce television programmes. Often they become so involved in mediating issues among different community factions that their ability to produce an adequate amount of programming is impeded. Only the largest community television organizations can afford to let their staff produce less in order to spend much time mediating community problems. The role of the animator as a community development agent remains unclear, and is a constant source of frustration to community television organizations.

5. Community Media via Satellite

Recent advances in satellite and cable television have set the stage for a new type of community media in the United States--ad hoc satellite networking. Formation of an ad hoc satellite network links together a special interest audience so that participants can simultaneously receive the same television programme, transmitted specially for them. Ad hoc networking can link viewers in all fifty states, the U.S. Virgin Islands and Puerto Rico to a television studio or remote facility located (under normal circumstances) anywhere in the United States or its possessions. Two domestic, commerical communication satellite systems are used: the RCA SATCOM and Western Union WESTAR series.

Several dozen satellite-networked cable television pay services have formed over the past three years, but the majority of these are commercial operations which network movies, news, children's programming and sports.

Ad hoc networks are different from the commercial networks in that they are formed by organizations that are not primarily in the high-technology communications business. These organizations (perhaps a trade union, hospital personnel, teachers, etc.) do not own their own satellite transponder (channel) or their own transmitting equipment. Yet, they want to utilize communication satellite technology to communicate with, or accumulate constituents. They might form a network once a year, or less frequently--hence, the phrase ad hoc.

Technical requirements for ad hoc networking include access to a satellite transmitter (uplink), access to a transponder, and agreements with cable television systems, or less frequently, with PBS Television Network affiliate stations, to cablecast or broadcast the programme. The cable system or television station must be equipped with an 'earth station' receiving antenna. It is rarely a problem to get cable systems to carry the programme over a public access channel. It is more difficult to secure time with a television station. The cable-cast, or 'airtime' is almost always offered free of charge.

It is technically and economically feasible for many non-profit organizations and other special interest groups to establish their own television network by making the necessary arrangements and contact with the appropriate organizations. In fact, there exists an organization, the Public Service Satellite Consortium (PSSC), whose primary function is to act as a 'travel agent'

of sorts for those non-profit organizations that desire to take advantage of communication satellite technology. The Public Service Satellite Consortium makes all the arrangements for the sponsoring organization: technical, production, local station contacts and publicity.

Ad hoc networks must operate on satellite transponders owned by major corporations that lease them the time, when available. Day by day, it is becoming more difficult to secure satellite cable television channels. All the transponders on every functioning (and even on every planned) communications satellite have already been leased to a private company or government agency. None is available for free public access; transponders are only available through a sub-lease agreement if the renter is willing.

A variety of innovative, special interest television networks have been formed over the past two years. Some organizations involved with ad hoc satellite networking, as well as some examples of networking include the Centre for Non-broadcast TV in New York City, a non-profit organization which encourages both non-profit and public interest groups to use cable TV, satellites and other communications outlets by providing broadcast quality videotape facilities at subsidized rates. The Centre pioneered the concept of ad hoc networking by organizing and distributing a live programme on April 29, 1979, titled 'The Lost Million: Is American Labour Obsolete?' The 90-minute programme was created for the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers and was carried live to over 200 cable systems.

The Public Interest Video Network Washington D. C. has been in existence since May 1979. It was originally organized by two dozen independent television producers in order to cover an anti-nuclear energy rally in Washington D. C. in 1979 which was not scheduled to be covered by any of the national television networks.

The Community Service Network, Washington D. C. /Denver, Co. is a national organization developed on October 1979 to distribute public service programming via satellite. The bulk of its programming is pre-packaged: health education, college courses, public safety information.

. The Public Service Satellite Consortium is a member organization representing 108 public service organizations from very diverse disciplines--health, education, public broadcasting, libraries and other. The National Satellite Network, the operating branch of the Consortium, assists these organizations in producing primarily non-broadcast satellite-transmitted teleconferences (as an alternative to travel) and ad hoc networking.

A principal tenet of American society is that citizens should have the right and the ability to share and discuss issues and problems that they must confront together as a nation. In his statement on 5 June, 1979, before the House Subcommittee on Communications and the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, Ralph Nader stated:

> The First Amendment recognizes that communication among citizens is the cornerstone of our democratic form of government. Yet the increased concentration of control over communications technology since 1934 has made most persons second-class citizens under the First Amendment. Ordinary citizens can speak to their neighbours, but they cannot speak to millions of their fellow Americans through the electronic media without paying a great toll and obtaining the permission of giant corporations. On the other hand, the powerful few--ABC, CBS, NBC, Westinghouse, Post-Newsweek--can use their constitutional rights to command national audiences and decide the price, frequency and use of communications systems within global reaches. This gross inequality of access has left the public to rely on a few corporations' perceptions of society, politics, the arts, and the public itself.

Satellite technology is largely an outgrowth of military research effort financed by the public. Yet, there is no direct public dividend offered for such a substantial public investment in terms of providing for national access of non-profit groups to this most powerful tool of information sharing. The ad hoc networks formed by citizen groups and other non-profit organizations serves as examples to speak for the need and effective utilization of communications satellite technology and cable television channels as viable tools in the promotion of community communication.

6. Community Radio in North America

The evolution of community radio in North America is the story of how people with little or no broadcast training, and no money of their own, took initiative and set up stations to express their own ideas and creativity. At the same time, they provided a new forum for both previously broadcast and rarely heard information. This form of programming has provided freedom of speech in ways unequalled by other media.

Community radio has been called several names over the years, such as listener-supported, free-form, alternative, community access, or just plain community radio; but interpretations of access differ. To some, it is having an open microphone policy. Broadcast time is open to any community member. To others, access to the airwaves happens only after one volunteers to work at the station for a certain length of time, or undergoes special training.

Community radio is a little different in the United States and in Canada; federal regulations are similar. In fact, the differences in community radio are more manifest from station to station than between, say, Vancouver and New York City.

Each station is so different from the others in purpose and in regional setting that generalizations about their programming are almost impossible. They tend to focus their programming schedule towards a segment of the population in their service area; most programmes are designed to be of interest to particular types of people, as for example, children, women, union members, ethnic groups, environmentalists, craftworkers. Their selection of music is usually specialized. In Quebec for instance, there is heavy emphasis on Quebec musicians. In other places, the tendency is towards what private broadcasters consider to be of minority interest; jazz, bluegrass or folk music, the classical repertoire and modern U.S. and Canadian composers, folk or popular contemporary music from many countries.

Community radio programming has traditionally been very local in nature. Most stations print a programme guide that is mailed to subscribers who donate money to the station. The guide presents the programme schedule for a month or two, and often includes a variety of articles concerning station activities, community events and commentaries on controversial issues.

University student or campus radio stations are not really the same as community radio stations although they do carry some of the same kind of programme content. The licensee may be the University, a university-based corporation or a student-run corporation autonomous from university control. The degree of orientation of the radio station towards the community outside the campus varies widely.

Other similarities and generalizations that can be made about community radio in North America concern funding and staffing. Money is tight in community radio. Staffs are primarily volunteer, overworked and underpaid.

The fact that community radio stations broadcast rather than cablecast is particularly important. Being an established broadcast entity, the community radio station possesses a certain degree of autonomy that a community television channel cannot match. The radio station is not subject to the administrative priorities and whims of a company whose central interests do not lie in community programming. A community cable TV channel's lifeline rests with the cable television system that is paying the overhead. Funds can be administered or cut as desired by the cable company. In Canada, the cable company owns the community television channel that goes out over the cable to subscribers, and the company establishes programming policy for the channel, within CRTC guidelines. In the United States, the cable company does not own the channel, and is often not required to support it.

Community radio has nothing to do with more powerful and richer companies that might want to use or abuse the station. Community radio sinks or swims depending on its staff and community support The radio station is its own boss--or perhaps, the local community is the boss. The station need only follow operational guidelines prescribed by the CRTC (Canada) or the FCC (USA) and station management.

No national organization or network of community radio stations exists in Canada. In the United States, 50 community radio stations joined together in 1975 to form the National Federa-

tion of Community Broadcasters (NFCB). The Federation was established with the purpose of uniting all the highly individualistic and independent broadcast groups throughout the country.

The NFCB offers a national focus for the individual efforts and experiments of community broadcasters. Through the Federation, community broadcasters have a national organization to represent their interests, put forth their ideas and foster co-operation in pursuing projects. From a national office in Washington D.C., NFCB administrators have pushed the cause of community radio in legislative and bureaucratic circles and have achieved notable success in influencing the shape of national public radio policy. The national office also serves as a centre for advice and expertise to respond to stations' needs and solve problems. A programme distribution service in Champaign, Illinois, provides a vehicle for the sharing and developing of programming among stations.

An important breakthrough in the area of national networking of locally produced programmes is currently on the drawing board. The NFCB hopes to organize an inexpensive communications satellite networked programme fed to all member stations. In addition, the Pacifica Foundation has proposed to establish Washington D.C. studios for the preparation and distribution of a daily live satellite-fed newscast to Federation stations.

Community radio in Canada: origins

The early 1970s were the years when new types of organization began to seek radio station licences from the CRTC. One of the earliest was a scheme to establish a mobile radio station to travel from one small Ojibway community to another in the Longlac area of Northern Ontario. The idea of the mobile station was to encourage the exchange of information among isolated communities. Programming was produced in one community, broadcast there and then repeated in the next community. The second community would be the source of new programmes and these would be broadcast there and in the next community, and so on. The purpose of the project, sponsored by the Company of Young Canadians, was to encourage citizen participation in the media, specifically for native people whose economic dependence on non-native society is almost total. The mobile station eventually became licensed as a permanent station at Longlac, from 1974 onwards.

Most of the earliest community radio stations in Canada were established in the Northwest Territories (NWT) to provide services in native communities, and the stations were run by the people themselves. In Big Trout Lake, Ontario, and Baker Lake, NWT, the federal Department of Communications provided funds to get the station started and provided salary money for staff for a couple of years.

These early stations in the north produced a few hours of programming a day in the language of the area; the numbers of hours produced was not necessarily large and depended--as it still does--on which people were free to participate at different times of the year. Since many of the people in Northern communities are engaged in hunting and trapping and have a yearly cycle of activities which may take them away from their home community, the level of activity at the radio station varies in accordance with the changing seasons. One of the most important functions of the radio station is to provide a message service for people out on the land from those in the villages. For this, a range of signal coverage of at least 30 miles from the transmitter is essential. The stations which can reach only the village itself cannot fulfil the function of keeping in touch with travellers or hunters.

In August, 1977, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) Office of Community Radio published a catalogue of community radio operations in Canada. By that time, there were 43 stations where community radio programming was being broadcast. Of these, 12 were owned by the CBC under an arrangement which gave a local radio society a community access agreement with the CBC. Another 12 stations in the Northwest Territories and in Nouveau Quebec were unlicensed by the CRTC. Of the remaining 19 stations, two were student radio stations, five were urban radio stations and the rest were in small towns or rural areas, many of them in mid-Canada and the North Canadian Broadcasting Corporation,(1977:18).

Since 1977, another 34 community radio licences have been issued, mostly to two native communications societies which work in mid-Canada areas of Ontario and Manitoba (CRTC, 1979: 4).

Omitting the community access organizations that have agreements with the CBC, and thus do not own their own radio transmitter, there are currently about 50 licenced radio stations owned and operated by non-profit groups, which have as their major or only purpose the production and distribution of programmes for people in their area (CRTC, 1979:5). Most of the stations are in Northern communities and most are broadcasting on FM, many of them on low power either by choice or by licence requirement.

At present, there are four community radio stations in the larger cities of Canada; they are, in order of the original issue of licence, in Kitchener-Waterloo (Ontario), Vancouver (British Columbia), Montreal (Quebec) and Jonquière (Quebec).

An overview of the Vancouver station, CFRO-FM, and the Kitchener-Waterloo station, CKWR-GFM, follows. These two stations were chosen because of their rich history, the availability of printed descriptive informative concerning the stations, and access to individuals who could supply details.

CFRO-FM--Vancouver

Vancouver Co-operative Radio grew out of two earlier community service groups called Neighbourhood Radio and Community Research Service. Neighbourhood Radio began in early 1971 with a plan to operate a city-wide FM station; but the idea was dropped because of funding and licencing problems. Instead, the group decided to explore the possibility of setting up a series of neighbourhood stations to be connected up on the city-wide cable TV systems as cable radio. A number of radio production workshops were conducted and local groups were helped to produce radio programmes. However not all groups were convinced of the value of radio as a useful medium of expression, especially when video was at the same time being presented as the new medium of community communication. Community Research Service (usually known as Muckrakers) was a group of people interested in being informed about current issues and events, who developed information research techniques and information files as background material.

In 1973, the two groups combined with other interested people to form Vancouver Co-operative Radio, a non-profit society incorporated under the British Columbia Co-operatives Act. The society was formed for the purpose of seeking an FM radio station licence and operating the station as a listener-owned, non-commercial station with access available to any Vancouver area group or individual interested in becoming involved. Membership in the society was thrown open to anyone in the area; active participation by co-op members in the operation of the station and in programming and production was strongly encouraged. The CRTC granted the co-op a non-commercial community FM radio licence in May 1974; the station is the first (and so far the only) one serving a large metropolitan area of Canada in its entirety (CINQ in Montreal transmits on low-power and serves only one neighbourhood of that city).

Since 1975, CFRO-FM has been producing and broadcasting a wide range of special and regular programming on, for example, education; the environment, women's issues; local music of all kinds; CRTC hearings; the fishing industry; native issues; employment and trade union affairs; poetry readings and radio drama; modern and classical music; industrial development, programming produced by children and by the handicapped, live coverage of Vancouver City Hall proceedings, labour council meetings and commissions of inquiry, background programmes on current local and regional issues. The largest percentage of air time each month goes to music of all types, both recorded and live.

The formal direction of the station in all matters, including fund raising and programming policy, is undertaken by the Board of Directors of the co-operative society. Informally, a number of systems have operated for handling routine decision-making. These have usually involved weekly meeting of core-staff, volunteers and the programme groups or committees which have always been the basis of the station's programming and policy. The funding sources which the station has decided to emphasize at present are membership fees, programme sponsorships and donations. Although sponsorships have always been possible at the station, they have not been sought much until now. Sponsorships are now being considered as a potential source of revenue for both the operating costs of the station itself and the programming costs of programming groups.

As in the past years, the station continues with periodic fund-raising marathons and on-air raffles. However, these activities are energy-intensive and cannot be undertaken very often, for two reasons. One is the effect on the regular programming effort; the second is the risk of overkill of the station's message of need for potential subscribers in the audience.

CKWR-FM--Kitchener--Waterloo, Ontario

The cities of Kitchener and Waterloo are commonly referred to as 'twin cities', many services are organized jointly between them and local organizations frequently span the cities. The population of the two cities, located an hour's drive southwest from Toronto, is approximately 175,000.

The local community radio station, CKWR-FM, went on the air in 1974. The station evolved primarily through the efforts of Wired World, Inc., an organization of students from the University of Waterloo who wanted to extend the service of Radio Waterloo (a closed circuit campus radio station) to the wider community. Wired World filed with the CRTC for an FM station licence in the summer of 1972. Licensing was a long drawn-out process, as this was the first application for a non-commercial station from an urban-based group with no affiliation with a university.

Since CKWR-FM went on the air, the approximately 200 watt station has sought to operate without any government grants at all. In this respect, it is unusual if not unique among community radio stations in Canada. Wired World Inc. had been set up as a non-profit corporation with charitable status for the purpose of receiving donations. The station also had a membership fee of 12 dollars per year as another source of money. It was intended all along that volunteers would be the mainstay of daily operations and that a paid staff would be kept to an absolute minimum.

However, even operating on a low key did not prove easy for the station. Technical problems with the transmitter and with other equipment proved too expensive to repair, and as breakdowns occurred, local support dwindled. The station went off the air because of transmitter failure. A new transmitter was acquired, and this one too, broke down. The Department of Communications became unhappy about the poor use of an allotted frequency.

By January 1977, none of the people originally involved in the setting up of the station were there any more. A new group of people became active and began to resolve the station's operational, technical and financial problems. By May 1977, the station was broadcasting as usual thanks to aggressive fund raising and streamlined operational costs.

The programming produced by the station in its earlier years was a mixture of informational and entertainment programmes, ranging from radio drama, taping of local concerts, ethnic programming and discussions of local issues or current events. As with all volunteer-based radio stations, the level of programming and its complexity of production have depended to a considerable extent on the individual people working there: these tend to change over time, perhaps especially in a place where university students have formed a core of those involved. Programming continues in the same fashion as years past, with a heavier emphasis on music.

The history of CKWR-FM is particularly important, as it is proof that it is possible for a non-commercial station to be revitalized when the initiating group members are no longer there. Longevity for this type of station is not impossible. CKWR-FM has been on the air longer than any other urban community radio station in Canada.

The origins of U.S. community radio:

The Pacifica Foundation, Berkeley, California.

The roots of community radio in the United States can be traced back to 1947. The place was Berkeley, California. Lewis Hill, a former World War II conscientious objector, founded the Pacifica Foundation, a non-profit corporation that would serve as the parent organization for a string of community radio stations which exist to this day. In founding Pacifica, Hill and others saw the need to establish radio stations that would express minority views ignored by the commercial media which functioned to please advertising agencies and sponsors, thus avoiding con-

troversial issues. Pacifica stations would 'encourage, and provide outlets for, the creative skills and energies of the community ... to promote the full distribution of public information ,.. to gather and disseminate information on the causes of conflict between any and all nations, races, creeds and colours' (Pacifica, Kanter, 1979:14). With only $15,000, KPFA-FM, a 1000 watt station, went on the air on 15 April, 1949. Programming was divided into four categories: music, drama, public affairs and children. Time was relatively unstructured and discussions were not limited to ending on the half-hour or hour. Most of the programming was live (owing to what the KPFA staff felt was a poor quality of recording in those days.)

At the beginning, KPFA was frequently in financial trouble. The station was non-commercial and revenue came from viewer subscription. The station was forced to go off the air because of financial difficulties during a period in 1950/1951. An electronic company contributed a new transmitter to the station, and the local and national press lauded the station as a bastion of free speech. Viewer support was evidenced by a large increase in subscriptions. A september 1951 grant of $150,000 from the Ford Foundation's Fund for Adult Education agency provided the station with three years of steady growth. New studios were built and the transmitter and tower were replaced with more powerful equipment.

In April 1958, despite internal management difficulties, KPFA was the first FM station to win the George Foster Peabody award for Public Service (awarded by the University of Georgia). KPFA developed an outstanding record for the production of controversial documentaries and discussion programmes on such taboo subjects as homosexuality and marijuana use. These programmes made the station subject to continued investigations by law enforcement agencies and the Federal Communications Commission. In January 1959 the Pacifica Foundation applied for and was granted a construction permit by the FCC to open a community radio station in Los Angeles, KPFK. Pacifica continued to acquire stations, but not without difficulty. The Foundation was accused several times of un-American activities by supporting the broadcasting of discussion programmes on communist thought, and airing programmes dealing with 'filthy' language and other questionable material.

In 1969, the Pacifica Foundation took over radio station WBAI-FM, New York City. The station was owned by millionaire philanthropist Louis Schweitzer. Schweitzer originally bought WBAI for his own listening pleasure, and donated the station to Pacifica so that it might be developed into a viable community radio station.

The three Pacifica radio stations, KPFK, KPFA and WBAI, underwent numerous financial ups and downs during the 1960s. Their conflicts were both internal and external--policy conflicts between the Foundation and the stations as well as intra-station managerial difficulties. The mid-1960s saw the growth of public access to WBAI, in particular. People were put on the air on various programmes when they walked in off the street.

Pacifica has since added an affiliate station in Washington D. C. and one in Houston (the Houston station's transmitter was bombed twice by the Ku Klux Klan).

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Chapter 11

THE PHILIPPINES

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PHILIPPINES

	Pages
1. Introduction	213
2. The Philippines: a profile	213
3. The Philippine mass media	215
4. Urban community media	221
5. Case study: DYLA Radio	222
6. Analysis--summary	230
7. References	232

1. Introduction

Special-interest media in the Philippines may have their roots in the pre-colonial times when primitive or folk media were used. Then, each tribe, barangay or community had its own form of communication, mostly oral, like the use of an umalohokan, or barangay crier, and various rituals for marriage, the birth of a son, harvest, death. In the early Spanish times there were balagtasan which is a recitation of story in rhyme with a moral lesson Later came what would be the forerunners of present-day community theatres like zarzuela, moro-moro, cenaculo. All these were meant primarily to entertain, Later, they became channels for passing social traditions from generation to generation.

During the Spanish colonial period, Del Superior Gobierno may be considered the first special interest medium, since it served a particular group, namely the illustrados (elite), during the period. The succeeding newspapers catered for special sectors, too, i.e., the propaganda movement and the like.

The recent experience of the Philippines under martial law where strict government censorship and control were practised, has undoubtedly triggered the growth of urban community media. For example, some opposing sectors of the regime published underground newspapers to express their opinions and interests. Others approached the situation more positively by gearing the media to specific groups like labourers and consumers.

In relation to this, the government's Five-Year Development Plan includes strengthening and mobilizing popular participation in both planning and implementation at regional levels. Institutional approaches in the use of communication are practised in national programmes like the Green Revolution, family planning, agrarian reform and human settlements.

It follows that community media are especially important in solving urban problems which are effects of industrialization. Community media and the presence of community organizations can assist people in building capabilities for self-sustaining growth. Acting as mediator and catalyst, community media enable the general population to participate in decision-making on both local and national issues; they can also be a channel for proposing solutions in fields such as pollution, overcrowding, and health and sanitation.

The trend towards 'demassification' and the consequent rise of community media as the 'alternative media' force us to examine their environments, i.e. existing and potential problems, opportunities and other major social, economic and political issues that affect them. It was to be expected that the localized approach of community media would reach residents more effectively than other existing communication channels of general circulation and scope.

The framework of this study is based on the criteria of people's access and participation in community planning with self-management and collective action as principal indicators of communication effectiveness. The study focuses on the use of urban community media in community problem solving. Selected cases will show how the media support community initiatives in the urban setting and their primary functions within structured community programmes.

2. The Philippines: a profile

General

The Philippines are an archipelago with a land area of 116, 220 square miles. The northernmost offshore island lies less than 150 miles south of Taiwan; 48 million people inhabit the 7,107 islands, the two largest being Luzon--105, 000 square miles and Mindanao--95, 000 square miles. With an annual population growth rate of 2. 37 per cent, there are now 400 Filipinos for every square mile. As such, it ranks as the ninth most popular country in Asia and 17th in the world.

There are three cultural and racial groups in the country speaking 87 dialects. Belonging to the Malay-Polynesian linguistic grouping, the major dialects spoken in the country are

Tagalog, Cebuano, Ilokano, Hiligaynon, Bikol, Waray, Pampango and Pangasinan. Although Filipino, the Tagalog-based national language of the country, is used in schools and government institutions, English remains the official language. The Philippines is considered the third largest English-speaking country in the world.

History

Before recorded history, the Chinese had long established relations with the inhabitants of the Philippines and some of them lived in the islands. The Japanese, too, had forged contacts when the Spaniards came in the 16th century and ruled the country for over 300 years. The Americans came to the Philippines during the period of armed struggle against Spain in 1896. And for about 48 years, the Philippines became a United States colony until it regained its independence after the Second World War on 4 July 1946.

Spain's three-century rule left Christianity as its most important legacy in Philippine culture. Thus, about 90 per cent of the Filipinos are professed Christians. The United States was responsible for the introduction of republican democracy in the political life of the country although it was Spain which organized the disunited communities scattered over the archipelago into a single political entity. The country's socio-economic ideologies and legal concepts are rooted in American and European sources. Through all these Western influences, however, the Filipinos were able to evolve a brand of Christianity and a kind of politics distinct from those of their colonizers.

When the Philippine Republic entered into operation, it found itself to be little more than a façade for an economy heavily dependent on a few primary exports and beset with serious disparities in the distribution of wealth.

The increasing difficulties confronting the country and the failure of successive administrations to cope with the continuing crises, especially in the socio-economic field, led to massive discontent that found eloquent expressions in student demonstrations. The late 1960s and early 1970s saw the development of what has been termed student-power. In the rural areas, the government was confronted with massive dissent and the threat of internal subversion posed by the Communist Party of the Philippines with the New People's Army as its arm. In Mindanao, an internal conflict has escalated, involving a number of organizations led by the Moro National Liberation Front, which are fighting the government for an autonomous Mindanao state.

Faced with this situation, the incumbent President of the Philippines, Ferdinand E. Marcos placed the entire country under martial law on 21 September 1972. The legislative body was abolished and the president's decrees, directives, and instructions stood in lieu of laws.

The Philippine economy

The oil crisis in 1973 undermined the national economic performance. Growth of the Philippine economy, though sustained, slowed down. The overall economic growth rate in 1980 was recorded at 4.7 per cent as compared with 5.9 per cent in 1979 and 6.5 per cent in 1978. The balance of payments began to deteriorate, and higher rates of inflation became unavoidable. Assessing the economic situation in 1973, the leadership increased public investment instead of cutting down on development efforts. Through incentives the private sector also became more active partners in national development. The World Bank, in a report, noted the expansion of agricultural production and domestic food supplies, increased real public investment in infrastructure and basic services, particularly in rural areas, and the beginnings of a regional planning and framework. However, due to the deeply rooted origins of poverty, the government effort to alleviate it has not made a major impact.

The gross national product increased by nearly 20 per cent between 1972 and 1980. Total exports increased from US $1.1 billion in 1970 to US $5.9 billion in 1980. Per capita income more than trebled from US $214 to US $755 and the daily minimum wage rose from 4.75 Philippine dollars in 1972 to 23.30 Philippine dollars in 1980.* According to official data, it costs about 50 Philippine dollars a day for a family of six to meet its basic necessities, so the minimum wage is less than half of what is necessary. On the other hand, the unemployment rate decreased considerably from 1972 to 1980. The bulk of the labour force was registered in Metro Manila with a total of 4.3 million as of 1979, but, while agriculture continues

to be the single biggest contributor to GNP, the government is concerned to establish a balanced agro-industrial economy. To achieve this, it has shifted to industrialization with a massive series of projects costing US $6 billion. When fully operational, they are expected to generate a number of labour-intensive and export-oriented industries.

Political structure

The imposition of martial law gave rise to the New Society which aims to answer the demands of the poor. The New Society introduced various reforms to bring about a political structure that guarantees and promotes the autonomy of local governments as self-reliant communities.

Its search for a new political structure has turned the administration back to the barangay or village council of the pre-colonial families, led by a chieftain responsible to a council of leaders. This was a community in which members together made decisions and solved collective problems. The modern barangay is made up of all residents, usually 100 to 500 families. The restoration of the barangay is an effort to restore to the stagnant barrio its once-vigorous community life and to strengthen local government by broadening citizens' participation.

A chairman heads today's barangay, assisted by officers known as pook leaders. A pook is a street, a block or an identifiable compact neighbourhood headed by an acknowledged leader. From the barangays arise other various community organizations like the Kabataang Barangay (youth organization), Women's Auxiliary Brigade, Barangay Tanod (community police.)

The barangay today not only serves as a political centre but also assists in the administration of justice in the community. A barangay court is organized in each barangay to settle disputes among residents. This has provided the people with a system of speedy justice, a sense of community and less burden for formal courts. Groupings similar to the barangay already work at provincial regional and national levels. The highest legislative grouping is the Interim National Assembly. Its members include representatives of farmers, labourers and young people as well as those elected to represent each of the country's 13 administrative regions. The establishment of the Interim National Assembly marked the shift to the parliamentary form of government from the presidential system as provided for in the 1973 Philippine Constitution.

3. The Philippine mass media

Proclamation 1081 of martial law brought some unprecedented changes in the media-government relationship. As an associate justice of the Supreme Court said, 'the press, as a social institution whose purpose is to gather and present news and views, information and opinion, discharges a function within society which must vary with the social context. The concept of freedom of the press will be different during times of general security and in times of crises ...' Since freedom of speech of the press 'is not an unlimited, unqualified right, the societal value of speech must, on occasion, be subordinated to other values and considerations.'

Because of such a reality, the crisis government has set limits on its capacity to regulate the mass media. Since the leadership had regarded pre-martial law media as having contributed to national paralysis and instability, a total of 285 radio stations and 66 community newspapers were closed down in the provinces during the first year of the martial law regime. In Metro Manila, the government padlocked 7 major dailies, 3 Filipino dailies, one English-Filipino daily, 11 weekly magazines, 8 vernacular weekly magazines, one Spanish daily, 4 Chinese dailies, 3 business papers, one wire news agency and 7 television stations.

Through a presidential decree, all mass media facilities were required to guarantee space and time for all information emanating from the government, and allot adequate space and time for all national undertakings: agricultural production, consumers price index, taxes, energy conservation, the need for discipline and other subjects of vital concern to the public.

* 6 Philippine dollars = 1 US dollar

A few days after the lifting of martial rule on 17 January 1981 the Philippine Council for Print Media and the Broadcast Media Council, both regulatory agencies, were abolished. This recent turn of events could mean more objectivity in news reporting and a resumption of the role of 'watch-dog' of the government.

The Philippine mass communication system needs strengthening in this area to form the foundations for self-reliance. Since community media can be the necessary step towards an active dialogue between the government and people, it is seen as a potential stop-gap instrument to remedy the present communication dissonance between policy makers and the populace.

Print media

In 1811, the first newspaper, Del Superior Gobierno, was published with the Spanish Governor General himself as editor. It catered for local Spaniards and focused primarily on news from Spain. After two years of publication, the paper was banned by the Spanish Cortes, the first act of censorship in the Philippines.

Journalism during the Spanish regime was marked by censorship by the Church and State and by financial instability. It reached only a minority composed of Spaniards in the country and the Spanish-speaking Filipino elites. Moreover, the papers were more literary organs than newspapers.

When the Americans took over, censorship was not practised but libel laws were strictly enforced. The Manila Times was the first established in 1898 by Thomas Gowan. This was followed by the Manila Daily Bulletin, the oldest existing newspaper, the Manila Tribune, and the American and Cable News. Editorial content of these newspapers were all pro-American, written in English and were based on religious and political partisanship.

Post-war journalism saw its 'glory' when it was considered one of the 'freest in the world.' It is difficult to accept this label however when one takes into consideration the ownership of the Philippine print media then linked to the ownership of other mass media organizations (broadcast stations), large business enterprises and politicians. Without any governmental interference, the Philippine press was not free since it had to guard business or political interests.

It was, however, sensitive to national issues and critical of government mistakes. As it became too powerful, it became less responsible, more free-wheeling and sensational. In an effort to correct this, a group of journalists set up the Philippine Press Institute in May 1964 to instil some sense of responsibility in the press and professionalize journalism.

A year later, the Philippine Press Council was organized as a self-policing body but lacking in legal power. One of its accomplishments was the drafting of the Code of Ethics. In 1967, the Citizens Council for Mass Media was organized to encourage ethical and responsible journalism by giving recognition to those who excel in the profession.

In 1974, the Publishers Association of the Philippines Inc. (PAPI), composed of all segments of the publishing industry--newspapers, magazines, comics, house organs and books--was organized with the aim of promoting a truly mature, free and responsible press.

Another organization with the potential to affect the Philippine press system is the Federation of Provincial Press Clubs. Organized in the early sixties, the Federation became inactive during the martial law regime. It was recognized early 1981 and faced with the challenge of meeting the demands of the new order.

The print media after martial law have changed markedly from their former state to a media system characterized by some degree of control and social responsibility. As one veteran journalist pointed out, he has 'unconsciously developed a sense of social consciousness and mature sense of judgement.'

At present, there are 320 publications in the country; 12 are dailies printed in Metro Manila and circulated nationwide, and 95 community newspapers. There are over a dozen

weekly magazines in English most of which cater for women and the middle class. There are three provincial dailies: The Freeman published in Cebu City, The Visayan Times in Bacolod City and the Mindanac Journal in Cagayan de Oro City. Five other provincial papers are published six times a week; four are published in Cebu City while the other is published in Davao City.

Some minority groups also put out newspapers like the Chinese Community which have two (Orient News and The United Daily News) and the Spanish community which have Nueva Era and Nuevo Horizonte.

Print media use

Only 9 to 14 per cent of city residents are daily users of the print media and they devote only an average of 139 minutes daily to their periodicals, newspapers and other reading materials. Of the 67 weeklies, 27 are comic books (komiks) which are read by the majority. Some 16 million copies of these penetrate Filipino households every week, or one of every three Filipinos reads the komiks making it the most widely read medium in the Philippines. The popularity of the komiks may be attributed to the Filipinos' proclivity for entertainment even when needing new information. Because of the grassroot appeal of this type of publication, the government has gained headway in rural development projects. Although mostly fiction fantasies and humorous vignettes of life, komiks have been able to integrate development messages into the plots of stories and novels.

Broadcast media

Radio was introduced in the Philippines in Manila by an American, Henry Hermann, on 22 June, 1922, two years after the first radio service started in the United States (Pittsburgh). There were only five radio stations in the country when war broke out in 1941: the owners and the announcers were Americans and the language used was English.

At the present time, the country has a total of 292 radio stations (commercial, non-commercial and government) and 5 television network stations. Ninety per cent of the broadcast media are operated by private enterprise, while the government and non-commercial entities operate the remaining ten per cent, including a score of Church owned stations (mostly Catholic). Broadcast activities are financed not by royalties or license fees but by advertising.

Radio reaches 95 per cent of the entire country with 700,000 radio sets in 5 million households. Television reaches approximately 14 per cent of the country nationwide or roughly one million television homes. It covers nine of the twelve regions of the country.

In Metro Manila alone, 64 per cent of the total number of households owned television sets in 1978. Although the number of TV network stations has decreased from six to five, the extent of its coverage has doubled over the past years. The use of domestic satellite by one of the networks and the increase in the number of relay/replay stations of other networks made this achievement possible.

Radio and television in the Philippines are utilized mainly as sources of entertainment rather than information. On the average, 75 to 80 per cent of total broadcast hours are devoted to entertainment while 19 to 30 per cent are for information and educational broadcasting. Formal education broadcasting is undertaken primarily through the efforts of the Ministry of Education.

Fifty three to 76 per cent of city dwellers listen to radio and watch television every day. An average of four hours a day are spent listening to the radio and watching TV.

Since martial law, coverage in the broadcast media has included broadcasts on agriculture, home-management, child-care and maternal health, nutrition, family planning, cottage industry, etc. An analysis on broadcast programming and the relative effectiveness of certain broadcast strategies in bringing about desired changes has yet to be conducted.

Eighty per cent of television programmes are imported canned films. This can be attributed to the high costs of producing local television programmes. Showing canned foreign films has proven less expensive as they can be stored for repeat shows.

Aside from the spiralling costs of production, the broadcast industry also faces a number of tougher-problems. Among these are: economic viability, especially in provincial stations where there is inadequate advertising support; lack of qualified and trained manpower which has resulted in poor programming, use of obsolete radio and television equipment by some stations; difficulty in gaining acceptance for developmental programmes, since the Filipino audience regards radio and television primarily as vehicles for entertainment.

The Kapisanan ng mga Brodkasters sa Pilipinas (KBP) is an organization of 94 broadcast companies and organizations which seeks to utilize the broadcast media for national development. It aims at establishing a procedure for carrying out an organized development campaign through massive reorientation of broadcasters towards communication in support of development and co-ordination with government institutions for support references and broadcast materials.

Under the KBP is a self-regulatory body; the KBP Standards Authority. The authority has the power to implement all broadcast standards and policies, to carry out the recently approved radio and television code; and to co-ordinate directly with the National Telecommunication Commission on the implementation of broadcast standards.

The cinema

The popularity of the Spanish 'zarzuela' (musical comedy) and the American vaudeville prepared the stage for the introduction of motion pictures in the country, and the Philippine cinema preceded broadcasting by almost 20 years, the first movies making their appearance as early as 1904.

Despite competition from Hollywood in the first half of the century, the Filipino cinema had begun to develop an effective style of its own. By the time martial law was declared, it had gained adherents from even the elite members society. From cheap shallow entertainment patronized by predominantly illiterate, naive audiences, it had achieved a sense of artistic and social responsibility and craftsmanship. Film critics are sure that if the industry sustained this approach, Filipino cinema would remain, despite the growing attractiveness of television, the people's cheapest and most popular form of amusement and expression.

However, like television the industry suffers from increasing production costs. At present, producing a quality picture costs a producer about 1.2 million Philippine dollars. As a result, there has been a decrease in output in recent years. Despite these increasing costs, financing either from the private or government lending institutions is not available. A 50 million Philippine dollar subsidy to the cinema industry and the creation of the Academy of Arts & Sciences for Philippine Motion Pictures are two of the efforts that have been made to professionalize industry. Stiff competition from foreign films is the other major problem of the industry. The unlimited entry of foreign films has left local production less than a quarter of the market.

Primarily an entertainment medium, movie makers are now becoming cognizant of the educational value of film. A few have made films dealing with such themes as social justice, food production, and socio-cultural consciousness.

Telecommunications

The Philippines has four nationwide telecommunication networks, but Metro Manila accounts for 75 per cent of the telephone service while the rural areas account for the remainder.

Since the country is 25 years behind in telecommunications development, the government has decided to invest $1.5 billion in communications within the next five years. In the telephone system alone, the next five years (1982-1987) will see the government investing $800 million to improve the telephone system.

As part of its effort to upgrade and improve the industry, the country's two major telephone companies will be integrated. Similar integration of the telegraph and telex operations will take effect soon.

The Philippine Communications Satellite Corporation (PHILCOMSAT) in Tanay, Rizal province, enables the country to participate in INTELSAT. At present, 11 standard earth stations located in strategic points in the country constitute the basic satellite network.

The potential of the telecommunication system as an alternative for transportation is seen in the light of the energy crises which would limit mobility. Communication planning could then be based on information inputs showing the trade-off between the telecommunications and transportation system.

Advertising

Today's developing countries have varied opinions on the role of advertising in national development. Some consider it a worthwhile undertaking, while others see it as useless expenditure. The importance of advertising has been underscored by the Philippine president who advised the advertising industry and other communication industries to base their strategies on the political, economic, and cultural realities and directions of the country.

Advertising has been and will be the lifeblood of the media industry. Of the 299 radio stations in the Philippines, 248 depend on commercial advertising for their operations. These stations are primarily commercial enterprises heavily dependent on advertising before they can fulfil their roles in education, entertainment, and information. Newspaper organizations depend on advertising for about 80-90 per cent of their income. Sales and subscription income alone cannot viably support a newspaper.

With some 120 advertising agencies, advertising in the Philippines has succeeded in introducing life styles which have contributed to increased productivity. Economic difficulties and financial constraints have nevertheless affected the advertising industry. The consumers' limited purchasing power has encouraged the purchase of cheaper products. The future of industry will therefore depend on the agencies' ability to diversify their marketing base by offering related services, such as public relations and management consultancy. These challenges have been met by practitioners in consonance with national development goals. Present trends have shown that advertising can support the overall process of increasing productivity, sharpening the country's sense of national identity and shaping a national ideology.

Communication policies--comment

The absence of explicit communication policies poses a serious problem to Philippine mass communication. Where they exist, policies are fragmented and sectoral in nature. Each sector has its own policies which are usually directed towards providing information about its especial concerns rather than those that are national in scope.

To cite an instance, the absence of clear-cut policies regarding the distribution of frequencies for radio stations and the apportionment of newsprint has contributed to the commercialization of mass media. Small media owners have limited access to available frequencies and newsprint supply as there are always the big media owners and established corporations that can easily displace them. As a result, any intent to democratize media ownership may be inhibited because of this absence of policies.

A national policy should include a communication priority plan which would identify the needs of the people and government areas where the private sector can invest (e. g. employment and software development), and areas for communication support, like energy or food production.

Such communication policies help to define development directions and should not be taken as a curtailment of press freedom. They can even lead to the democratization of opportunities, reduction of rich-poor disparities, redistribution of information and, eventually, a redistribution of power.

Other policy areas which are of vital concern to government planners are: ownership of information channels, regionalization of information, communication for formal and non-formal education, and international communication issues, such as information imbalance.

Communication issues-comment

The world recognizes the existence of imbalance in the flow of news and information today, and the Philippines in its present political environment also faces communication issues and problems.

The oligarchic structure of the ownership of pre-martial law mass media was one reason why President Marcos shut down their operation. However, Philippine media today are still controlled by a few owners. This is because setting up a newspaper or any medium unit is capital-intensive, thus making inevitable control by a few who are close to the power centre. In this situation, the information products and messages of the mass media are inclined to favour the policies and prejudices of the owners. There appears likewise an implicit government control of the press, a lack of initiative and standardization in reporting style. Even with the recent lifting of martial law and eventual guarantee for full press freedom, journalists are still cautious about what to say and put into print. This environment has a counter-productive effect in securing commitment of citizens to government programmes or projects for national development.

Likewise, there is an apparent lack of structural links between planners and the people and institutions which can integrate individual, group and national goals. The lack of bottom-up communication mechanisms as well as horizontal and vertical communication may be due to the ineffective use of existing communication resources for the sharing and articulating of needs and aspirations. This inadequacy may well be a result of the low priority given to development concerns by the mass media.

All these changes are only possible if they have the support of the government, yet information has been a low priority in the Philippines, receiving less than 0.1 per cent of its GNP. This low priority is an indicator that although planners have recognized its potential, there may be other constraints which prevent them from giving it due support.

The diversity in the country's dialects and indigenous regional customs and traditions emphasizes the need to develop community media which are able to meet needs and aspirations of the various sectors of society.

The trend in media 'de-massification' is also spreading into the broadcast industry where information is being tailored to the needs of its audience. Cable television enables its subscribers to watch and listen to programmes of their choice, video tapes, audio recordings, cassettes, citizen's band radio and other forms. However, the high cost of technology limits access and ownership to the higher income group.

The diminishing social service aspect of communication media is now an important area of concern. There is a growing emphasis on commercial activities rather than on providing the needed information. Communication is used as merchandise rather than as an instrument to serve the social good.

Aware of this problem, Asian editors and senior journalists who convened in Manila in 1980 recommended the 'reduction of commercialization and monopolization of the media through public subsidies, and fiscal incentives to encourage the development of alternative media enterprises'.

The Philippines, along with other Asian countries, has also experienced the efforts of transnational corporations to transfer technology in the form of both hardware and technical skills. The threat of cultural alienation that TNCs pose is of vital concern. The foreign influence of these corporations can develop a pattern of homogeneity of needs and demands. An increased awareness on the part of local media organizations of the role of TNCs may counter their impact on democratic and national communication resources and lead to a policy that is designed to regulate the expansion of multinational operations perhaps by limiting their hold to being only support agencies to the local media organizations.

A proposal to nationalize the mass media in the country (Parliamentary Bill No. 1254) seeks to implement a provision of the Philippine Constitution which lays down that 'the ownership and management of mass media shall be limited to citizens, or to corporations or associations wholly owned and managed by such citizens.' (Art. XV, sect. 7, paragraph 1). Some members of the National Assembly have passed a resolution to amend the provision so as to include 'control' and add that 'ownership and management shall be as broadly based as possible to ensure participation of all interested sectors of the Philippine society.' These proposals could then justify the need for strengthening local community media which are mass-based.

4. Urban community media

Urban issues

The urban communities in the country provide considerable opportunities and resources. Some of these include a highly literate and trained manpower, the availability of sophisticated communication technology and innovative government programmes. The mas media and telecommunication facilities are primarily located in the urban centres of the country. Six per cent of the total number of radio stations, 5 television networks, 4 major dailies and 75 per cent of telephone services are to be found in Manila alone.

Despite these advantages, however, the abundant communication resources of the city contribute little to the attainment of self-reliant communities capable of dealing with the various problems that beset them. There is a need to reorient both media owners and audience to its potential as a catalyst for development. Specialized media may well fill the gap by assisting in minimizing or eliminating some of the urban problems.

Under-utilization of available economic and manpower resources in the urban community, may be one reason for the continuous rise of urban problems (high criminal incidence, environmental pollution, unemployment and underemployment, and exploitation of the poor). Use of those resources should be maximized, since the high literacy rate in the urban areas (98, 7 per cent for Manila) provides a conducive environment for setting up special-interest media.

For example, Ang Mamimili, a consumer magazine in Manila, attempts to assist a special interest group--the consumers, mostly housewives--on problems related to consumerism, DYLA, a radio station in Cebu City assists in community problem-solving by devoting most of its air time to issues pertaining to employment and union affairs.

The role of community media in the political activity of the nation is to promote popular participation. It goes beyond the popular notion that the participation of the masses during election time is sufficient. Community media, more than elections, can provide the people with actual experience and first-hand information needed to build a stronger community and a nation capable of coping with emerging problems and opportunities.

The catalysing role of communication in public administration can be effected by improving the relationship between people and existing institutions. As the larger communication media can only have superficial effects on this relationship, this chapter will focus on the smaller urban community media which are initiated by the people and concerned citizen groups and which, the authors believe, are more effective channels for solving community problems.

To counter the dominance of Manila, the government has launched a massive urban development programme to set up urban nerve centres in all regions of the country in an effort to discourage rural migration. The scheme involves making each urban nerve centre (or city) an essential component in the development of rural regions by providing these underdeveloped regions with access to needed services and facilities present in urban areas.

The development of these nerve centres started with the government's human settlements programme through the Bagog Lipunan Improvement of Sites and Services (BLISS). It is designed to establish model communities throughout the country, where eleven basic needs are met through government assistance and the residents' own efforts. These needs are defined

as: food, water, clothing, power, mobility, ecological balance, education, culture and technology, sports and recreation, medical services, economic base/livelihood and shelter.[1]

'Red tape' and bureaucracy however have hampered the speedy implementation of the programmes. Politics and lack of feedback channels where barangay members can express their needs and problems also obstruct the organization. What is vitally needed is mechanisms which would enable the people to bring grievances and problems to community leaders. A communication system which will answer the needs of communities would provide members with opportunities to participate in both local and national development efforts.

Community media

The centralized media system and the concentration of ownership in the hands of private interests is the primary rationale for seeking an alternative communication system.

As the media infrastructure picture indicates, a small percentage is owned by non-commercial organizations like labour unions, consumer organizations and social foundations. Although underfunded and limited in scope, these urban community media as alternative communication systems have considerable impact on the minority audience that they reach. Such agencies like the Social Communication Centre (SCC) and the Communication Foundation for Asia (CFA) a re engaged in training, the production and distribution of print, radio and film programmes dealing with social themes. The SCC and the CFA are funded by Catholic and religious groups and international agencies. With programmes relevant to both urban and rural populations, they have established links with several Asian communication institutions.

The monthly magazine, Impact, published by the Social Impact Foundation, with circulation all over Asia, is another urban community medium. It focused on such topics as community development, co-operatives, demography, development, labour, business and management.

Another specialized publication, Ibon, is a weekly newsletter on 'facts and figures' that provides interesting reflections on national issues affecting development. Published in Filipino, Cebuano, Ilokano and English, its main goal is the popularization of mass education.

The example of community media examined in greater detail in this study is DYLA, a trade union radio station. It was chosen since the trade union movement is significant in the light of current economic problems.

It is in terms of the goals of access, participation, self-management, equality and collective action that this study examines the functions of urban community media. It will try to answer the following questions: Have the urban community media shown evidence of effectiveness in this regard? Do they have adequate leverage and sufficient resources? How do people use the community and national resources? Do they have any influence in directing the content and approach of the media?

5. Case study--DYLA --radio

Cebu City

Cebu City of the Visayas is the oldest Spanish settlement of the country. The present Metro Cebu lies in the mid-central section of Cebu province. It is composed of seven neighbouring municipalities and three cities and has a total area of 652 sq. km. The long stretch of mountain ranges leave level areas mainly along the coastline where most of the major settlements of Cebu lie.

There are close to 750,000 people in Metro Cebu with 1,116 persons per sq. km. It is a predominantly young population of 5 to 19 years old. The literacy rate is 85.3 per cent. Metro Cebu has a labour force of just over half a million of which 45 per cent is considered economically active. Cebuanos engage in almost every commercial, trade and business enterprise. The abundant growth of rice, corn, vegetables and fruits is due to its fertile clay-loam soil. Coconut and sugar are planted in other areas where agricultural products are not adapted.

1. See references, Gelia Castello for a study of the initial effects of this programme.

DYLA

DYLA, a trade-union station, is the only station of its kind in the country. It operates at 10 kW on AM and 1 kW on FM. It promotes workers' education and lends itself as a community vehicle for the Cebuanos to solve their urban problems.

Cebuanos find DYLA relevant to their community life because its workers' education programmes guide them on how they can minimize--if not eliminate-- exploitation in the work environment. Giving them access to its facilities, the station also allows them to use its broadcast time in mobilizing concerned citizens to solve community problems. The Cebuano society in which DYLA thrives may be described as highly literate, politically assertive, having a strong sense of community, exposed to national and international information, and bustling with commercial activities. In Cebu are found the regional offices of trade unions in the Philippines. The operations of these offices have raised the Cebuanos' awareness of the rights, duties and strengths of the workers in the commercial districts of Cebu.

Origins

In 1954, the Associated Labour Unions (ALU) was established to serve the interests of Filipino workers, primarily by rendering support services (especially assistance in collective bargaining) to workers involved in trade-union cases against exploitative management groups in Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao, the Philippines' three largest island groups. ALU's establishment quickly brought together the plant-level unions in the three islands towards the common goals of servicing, protecting and developing the country's working class.

After some time, however, the Visayas-Mindanao Confederation of Trade Unions (VIMCONTU) under ALU felt the increasing need to educate workers in Visayas and Mindanao in the principles and practice of Philippine trade unions. So, as a practical step, it went into radio broadcasting, setting up DYLA-AM on 27 September, 1967, as the 'Voice of Labour', and DYLA-FM on 1 May, 1976, as 'the Workers' Radio'.

The broadcasting activities of DYLA from 1967 up to 21 September 1972, when martial law was declared in the Philippines, did not differ considerably from those of the other radio stations in Cebu which were operating for profit. DYLA just wanted to be viable--a self-supporting institution; hence, it aimed at some profit mainly to sustain its operations. Furthermore, at the time, there was no Philippine experience in managing a trade-union station, and so the DYLA management and staff had to rely on their experience with commercial stations.

Workers' education programmes were, therefore, incorporated in the early DYLA broadcasts through the use of common sense and guesswork. Even those workers' education programmes which were broadcast were dictated in number and quality by the general policy of deriving income at all costs. Consequently, DYLA's wavelength was filled with advertisements, serialized dramas, entertainment programmes, talk shows, and informative broadcasts mainly designed to make money for the station. The workers' education programme took a back seat. DYLA stopped operating when martial law was proclaimed in 1972, but it was one of the first few stations to resume operation shortly before the end of that year.

Objectives

DYLA has adopted the details of the broad policy framework of ALU-VIMCONTU on information and workers' education. These are:

1. To strive for the full development of free trade unionism in the national community.

2. To indicate in the Filipino people a sense of their duties and responsibilities as citizens of a free, democratic society;

3. To develop a well-informed citizenry that can intelligently participate in decision-making both at the industry level and in society in general.

4. To develop socio-political awareness among the broad masses of the Filipino people.

5. To integrate the principles of free trade unionism in the mainstream of community life;

6. To help prepare young people in their confrontation with the working world of adults; and

7. To help build a progressive society through the development of skills for the different levels of leadership in the mass-based organization of the national community.

Programmes

The extent to which DYLA pursues its objectives and policy of developmental broadcasting is reflected in its workers' education programme.

In December 1979, the programmes broadcast over AM and their corresponding time slots were as follows:

1. Labour Patrol: 6.05 to 8.00 a.m.--This programme gives the workers access to DYLA facilities and enables them to participate in the political, economic and social life of Cebu. Through letters, telegrams and telephone calls, they express their views on issues affecting the Cebuanos. The programme presenters--two lawyers--discuss the issues and the workers' views generally from the point of view of the trade union movement.

2. Banay ni Tatay Opong (The Family of Daddy Opong): 8.05 to 10.00 a.m.--This is presented by a radio couple, a husband-and-wife team. The hosts invite a typical family, their neighbours and relatives and get them discussing problems, issues or concerns of Cebu or of the entire Philippines. The ultimate objective is to crystallize opinions of lower and middle class families on the subjects under discussion.

3. Pangutan-a si Tatay Opong (Ask Daddy Opong): 1.00 to 3.00 p.m.-- Tatay Opong of the morning slot presents this programme. He answers all questions asked by letter writers about culture, ethnics, legal questions, labour laws, family relations, love problems and other related topics.

4. Action Line: 4.00 to 6.00 p.m.--A public affairs programme featuring any topic relevant to the community. It is the afternoon edition of Labour Patrol.

5. Saksak Sinagol (Hotch-Potch): 7.30 to 9.00 p.m.--The two presenters of Labour Patrol conduct this public affairs programme, inviting as guests officers of government and private agencies who answer questions not only from the programme presenters but also from listeners who call in. Sometimes, the listening public send in their questions by mail, because the interview is announced several times a few days before the scheduled date. Frank, incisive and embarrassing questions can be raised, so that it is a credit in itself to guests who accept the invitation for an interview. No questions from the presenters or public are put on the air if the production team cannot justify or support the question.

6. News services: Five-minute newscasts in Cebuano are aired every hour. Furthermore, there are 15-minute newscasts from 7.00 to 7.15 a.m., from 12.00 to 12.15 noon, and from 9.00 to 9.15 p.m. The news items are mostly about developmental events and programmes. Little, if any, news is reported about crimes, sex violence, and other non-developmental topics. Mostly, the emphasis is on trade union and economic news.

Aired over FM in English are the following programming strands.

1. Philippine Heritage -- Featuring Philippine music, this programme seeks to counteract the foreign music that dominates the local airwaves. Significant facts about Philippine history, culture and society are also presented.

2. Kaleidoscope--Discusses educational topics on science, culture, economics and politics. Special topics are also featured, including family planning, nutrition, health and social services.

3. Dial-a-Song. Phone-in music requests and dedications for people at work, with brief discussion of working conditions.

4. Campus Carousel--Musical selections interspersed with short features about student life, school news and information for students, teachers and parents.

5. Feature Time--Presents topics from the transcription service of Deutsche Welle.

6. News service--English news bulletins every hour for five minutes. 15 minute bulletins 9.00 to 9.15 p.m. The types of news reported are similar to those of the News Services in Cebuano.

Staffing

DYLA staff consists of 33 people (including 14 programme presenters and five news editors). The ALU* Director General is in charge, assisted by an Acting Station Administrator. There are seven divisions, namely, administration, sales, programming, production, news, finance and auditing. A media consultant from FES (see below) is available for consultation on mass communication matters and assists in staff training.

A Station Planning Board formulates policy, and a staff training programme teaches broadcasting skills and attitudes related to development broadcasting, trade union work and responsive citizenship.

Financial resources

Under the Memorandum Agreement between ALU-VIMCONTU and the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung Foundation (FES), DYLA has been receiving financial assistance from FES. Much of the cash donations have been expended on three fields specified by the memorandum: production of workers' education programmes, staff training for DYLA, and engagement in mass media research activities.

Broadcasting for problem-solving

In addition to its workers' education broadcasts, DYLA's other distinctive competence is its ability to make itself accessible to its listeners and to involve them in some of its programmes. This is best illustrated by the programme, 'Labour Patrol', on which the Concerned Citizens of Cebu can identify and propose solutions to community problems.

Concerned Citizens for Good Government. The group Concerned Citizens for Good Government was organized in 1978 upon the initiative of the Cebuanos themselves. At present, there are about 3,000 members including lawyers, doctors, university professors, students, business people, barangay officials, and different workers of the various commercial districts.

Before 1978, the citizens were desperate and unorganized in their involvement in community affairs at the provincial level. There was no group composed of citizens from the different walks of life that was responsive to issues and problems that were of provincial, regional or national consequence.

In that year, DYLA through the two lawyer presenters of Labour Patrol, studied the possibility of bringing the citizens together for common causes. So one day, on the Labour Patrol programme, Miguel Enriquez, one of the presenters, challenged the citizens, who had reported some community problems to the programme, to organize themselves so that their collective voice could have more force in mobilizing community resources for problem-solving purposes. At that time, there were only a few citizen-callers because the people feared that their participation in the programme would reveal their identity and prove embarrassing.

A few days after the challenge was made, Joe Aleonar, a salesman, came over to DYLA and told Enriquez that he wanted to join the proposed organization. Enriquez advised him to wait for more listeners to join; he also assured Aleonar that the organization would come into being once there were enough people for membership.

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* Associated Labour Unions, which control radio station DYLA.

On a subsequent programme Enriquez announced Aleonar's intention to joint the proposed organization, saying that he would be known as Concerned Citizen No.1 and that those who would come after him would be similarly identified.

The element of anonymity attracted the attention of the listening public and so during one of Enriquez programmes, many people phoned in to ask how they could join the proposed association. Enriquez suggested that one Sunday at 9.00 a.m. those who were interested in joining the organization might come to the DYLA compound and attend a general membership meeting. He also explained the purpose of the organization, as well as its role in the community.

Responding to the announcement, about 120 people came on the designated Sunday. There were doctors, engineers, university professors, students, and ordinary workers. They elected their officers, decided on the name of the organization, and set the date for the next meeting. They also decided that any citizen would be accepted as a member of the organization if he or she wrote a letter of application indicating his or her name, address and occupation. There would be no membership fee and everybody would carry an identification card. Any member who might wish to participate in the discussion on the Labour Patrol programme would protect his or her identify by merely giving an identification number.

After the organizational meeting, more people joined in the Labour Patrol discussion on issues and problems. People now had the courage to denounce anomalies in public and private business because the station protected their identity. Only the court could force the station or the organization to reveal the identity of the concerned citizens in connection with a lawsuit.

DYLA-Community partnership

With the organization of the Concerned Citizens for Good Government, the partnership between DYLA and the community in solving urban problems was formally established. This partnership was possible because the station became very credible to the people. The station was perceived as a forum and as a leverage for problem-solving. DYLA's credibility was mainly due to the character of the two lawyer presenters of Labour Patrol and the stations policy making its resources available to the people.

In addition to their qualifications, the lawyers do not receive any salary from DYLA for their services. The free services they render to the programme, as well as the way they risked the anger of the people and agencies that they criticized on the air, have endeared them to the public.

As has been suggested, the partnership between DYLA and the community is socially meaningful because it is directed towards solving community problems. The Concerned Citizens rally behind the station and its two programme presenters and the latter, in turn use the Labour Patrol programme to serve the public. This arrangement has increased the people's awareness of the capacity of the medium to create the conditions in which they can pressure individuals, groups and organizations to conform to standards of propriety on community life.

DYLA-Community interaction

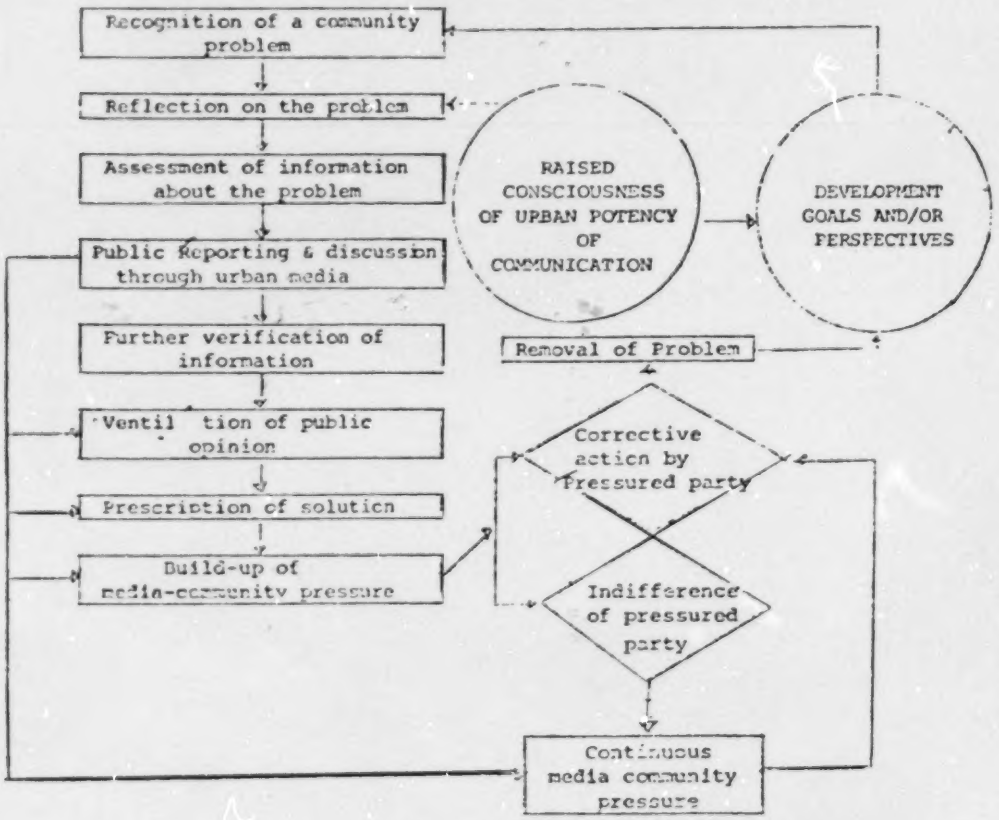
This interaction between DYLA and the urban community of Cebu may be described in terms of what might be called the 'urban potency model of development communication', The model, based on that interaction, suggests that communication is developmental if it is initiated by an urban community for the purpose of improving human affairs and environmental conditions towards the advancement of its members in the material and non-material aspects of life.

In this model, the initiators and beneficiaries of development communication are the urban community members themselves. Hence, they seek and demand information from institutions impinging on their social, economic and political life. They also determine the subjects and objects of their communication behaviour. Moreover, they demonstrate some degree of self-determination at the community level, by creating a communication climate in which they (a) articulate their views of better living, their guiding principles for accommodating changes being induced in their culture, and their philosophy for mobilizing resources for greater control of their future, and (b) exert group pressure on their leaders so that the latter will manage community affairs in accordance with their articulated views, principles and philosophy.

In light of the DYLA-Community partnership described above, the process starts with the recognition of a community problem by the people, who, individually or collectively had defined the development goals and/or perspectives for Cebu. It continues with the reflection on the problem, mainly because among the people there is consciousness of the 'urban potency of communication'; the assessment of information about the problem; public reporting and discussion over DYLA; further verification of information; ventilation of public opinion; prescription of solution; building up of DYLA-community pressure; and the removal of the problem results in the people's raised consciousness of the 'urban potency of communication' as well as contributes to the attainment of development goals, and the raised consciousness effectively shapes people's reaction to future problems.

The chart below shows the activity flow of the model. Here, it is seen that the starting and finishing point of all activities is the development goals and/or perspectives of an urban community.

URBAN POTENCY MODEL OF DEVELOPMENT COMMUNICATION


Recognition of a community problem
Reflection on the problem
Assessment of information about the problem
Public Reporting & discussion through urban media
Further verification of information
Ventil tion of public opinion
Prescription of solution
Build-up of media-community pressure
RAISED CONSCIOUSNESS OF URBAN POTENCY OF COMMUNICATION
DEVELOPMENT GOALS AND/OR PERSPECTIVES
Removal of Problem
Corrective action by pressured party
Indifference of pressured party
Continuous media community pressure

On analysis, Labour Patrol succeeds as a development-oriented programme because it derives its character from six conditioning factors: (a) the workers' self-management of DYLA; (b) media (i.e. DYLA) access for the people/community; (c) the institutional policy of development broadcasting; (d) links with centres of resources; (e) commitment to the development process by a broadcasting staff; and (f) people's organization. As a result of the presence of these factors it has become the most important programme of DYLA.

The workers who manage DYLA can effectively gear the programme to the needs of Cebu's urban population because they make the policies of the station, in general, and the programme in particular, and because they themselves allocate the resources for the station's operations. Furthermore, since they represent the interest of workers composing the majority of the people, they have some bias towards trade union-oriented broadcasts. The bias of Labour Patrol, for instance, is based on the assumption that the programme serves the working class

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if it assists the workers to free themselves from the pernicious practices and situations created by both public and private institutions. Hence, the programme fights graft and corruption, labour exploitation, discrimination in employment, and the like. By doing so, it contributes to the establishment of a better community where workers may pursue their respective goals in life. The workers' ability to manage themselves as a broadcasting group acquires greater developmental dimension when it is complemented by their ability to manage the process for problem solving in the community.

As has been mentioned, the Concerned Citizens for Good Government can participate in Labour Patrol. This access to the progress (or DYLA in general) helps them bring to public attention urban problems that have to be solved. They join in the programme's discussion on the air because they believe in the ability of the medium to solve community problems.

DYLA's institutional policy of development broadcasting rationalizes the effort of Labour Patrol to involve the people in broadcasting for problem-solving. Since the policy calls for popular participation in programming, the programme relies on the Concerned Citizens for most of its actual broadcast content.

Links with FES and ALU have enabled DYLA to support non-income generating programmes like Labour Patrol. In this sense, reaching out for external resources is not to be interpreted as a sign of weakness but as a sign of strength, since the realization and acceptance of one's limitation leads one to seek appropriate resources in an effort to attain pre-determined goals.

The two lawyer presenters of Labour Patrol and the staff of DYLA work for the solution of urban problems because they are committed to the development of Cebu.

Finally, the organization of the Concerned Citizens for Good Government has strengthened the dialogue between DYLA and the citizenry on issues, concerns and problems confronting Cebu. It has institutionalized the partnership between the station and the community in improving the Cebuano's quality of life.

The Presidential Anti-Gambling Task Force: An Illustrative Case. The case in which the Presidential Anti-Gambling Task Force was withdrawn from Cebu as a result of DYLA-Community pressure, illustrates this process. It shows how the combined effort of media and people was able to check the abuses of military men under the recent martial law regime in the Philippines.

On 23 August 1979, the Task Force arrived in Cebu from Manila to conduct police action against all forms of illegal gambling in Metro Cebu. The campaign against it started on August 27 and ended on 4 September of the same year. The following is a summary of information on the case taken from the logbook of Labour Patrol:

The campaign began with a phone-in report, at 6.56 a.m. on 27 August, by a Concerned Citizen, of the arrest of an innocent citizen by the Task Force. Other arrested people had been made to sign blank forms and one had not been given a receipt for money taken by the troops. Twenty-five minutes later, the Deputy Commander of the Task Force came to the studio to give his version and reported the arrest of 235 people. Twenty-five minutes after his report, another Concerned Citizen challenged his account and the Deputy Commander responded by telephone, saying that cases were sub judice and he could no longer discuss them.

Three days later a further sequence of morning telephone calls by Concerned Citizens established alleged malpractices by the Task Force and called on the authorities to respond with an official statement. A Police District Commander promised to raise the complaints with the military and he was followed by the Mayor of Cebu City who acknowledged the complaints of Concerned Citizens and called a meeting for three hours time in his office. In the next hour witnesses reported further serious abuses and called for the withdrawal of the Task Force--a demand shared by a local Police Colonel calling at the studio.

The next morning a caller reporting on the Mayor's meeting said that the Task Force representatives present had denied all charges. Further witnesses telephoned in indignantly substantiating the complaints. A lawyer spoke in defence of the Task Force and was cross-questioned by the lawyer-presenters as well as being critized by subsequent callers.

The next morning, Enriquez, Labour Patrol presenter, urged the City Council now investigating Task Force activities to strengthen their forthcoming resolution seeking the withdrawal of the Task Force. The Mayor called in half an hour later and claimed not to have direct knowledge of the abuses. Within the hour callers criticized the Mayor's position and, not for the first time, suggested that President Marcos be informed.

The next day, September 4th, headlines in the local papers announce the withdrawal of the Task Force. Immediately the headlines hit the street, telegrams, letters and telephone calls poured into DYLA congratulating the station, the Labour Patrol presenters and the Concerned Citizens for their success in effecting the withdrawl of the Task Force.

Other cases

The people had the courage to fight the Task Force because they had gained awareness of the effectiveness of the medium in this kind of situation. This awareness resulted from their previous success in dealing with another community problem, giving them the idea that by communicating their views on and feelings towards problems affecting their community, a climate for change is created whereby community resources and popular support can be mobilized for problem-solving. In short, they had trusted the ability of an urban media--DYLA--to lend itself as a vehicle for solving community problems.

The problem the people and DYLA solved just two days before the Task Force case was the case of the exorbitant medical fees, low salaries of the personnel, and inefficiency of the Cebu Doctors Hospital, a private institution. The community and the station scored a success when they were able to lower the medical fees to a reasonable level, increase the salary of the hospital staff, and effect improvements in medical services.

The hospital case started with Concerned Citizens calling up Labour Patrol and reporting their complaints against the hospital. Discussion on the air went on for several days as in the Task Force case. The hospital case was resolved when the pressured party, the hospital management, corrected the malpractices pointed out by the community.

With two successes in a row, the people and DYLA acquired greater courage in facing other problems that subsequently confronted them. These problems included drug addiction among the Cebuano youths. In brief, as a result of the people's and the station's exhaustive on-the-air discussion of drug addiction, the military and the various civic groups intensified their respective efforts to combat the drug menace.

Raised consciousness

It will be noted that one success inspired another; since the people realized that through DYLA communication on urban problems in the form of problem-analysis, problem-solving, decision-making, and mobilization of community resources resulted in the actual removal of the problems. With one problem solved, there was an awareness of the effectiveness of the medium on the community's part. Communication, in this sense, is meaningful to the people and therefore effective, because it is intended to serve development goals and perspectives. In fact, it is initiated by the people themselves and, happily, enough they derive some benefit from it.

In 1979, DYLA was selected by the city government of Cebu as the year's most outstanding private institution in Cebu. The selection was a solid recognition of the favourable impact of the station on the Cebuano society and culture.

Conclusion

DYLA succeeds in promoting workers' education and in offering itself as a vehicle for solving community problems. Six conditions have made its success possible; (a) the workers' self-management of DYLA; (b) media access for the community; (c) the institutional policy of development broadcasting; (d) links with resource centres; (e) committed staff; and (f) a support mechanism in the form of the association called the Concerned Citizens for Good Government.

Cebuanos, undoubtedly, have recognized the value of DYLA. They find its programme content relevant to their life as workers. Through the group, Concerned Citizens for Good Government, they gain access to its facilities and other resources and involve its staff in their effort to improve living conditions in Cebu.

Because DYLA renders a public service and because people accept it as a credible carrier of developmental information, there has come about a firm partnership between the station and community in solving community problems.

6. Analysis-summary

One can only understand the development of Philippine mass media from a historical perspective which dates back to early pre-Spanish culture to present post-martial law era. The growth of the city and urbanization were the result of decisions made after the Spanish occupation which placed the city of Manila as the centre of national government and hence, the centre of social, economic and political life. The primacy of the city as the centre of government superseded the pre-Spanish era of emphasis on small units of local government, the barangay and other tribal groups.

The development of the communication system followed the urbanization pattern which is centralized and which followed the 'trickle-down' theory of influence. Opinions and opinion-makers emerged from the urban centres as shown by the type of journalists during the earlier Spanish era who were then primarily illustrados (formally educated group). During the decades of rapid urbanization, there was however evidence that, in spite of the emphasis on the centre, community activities in the arts of communication such as folk theatre were happening simultaneously. While the rapid quantitative growth of the mass media industry was going on, the rural towns in the periphery were also developing their own communication system, which although primarily oral, was developed to a high degree so that nowadays the country can point with pride to the wealth of folklore, drama and other oral traditions which have been handed down from generation to generation.

Today, the mass media have developed along the direction of the American free enterprise system. The content and style of presentation has been very much influenced by Western programming; it depends totally on advertising. It is information- and entertainment-oriented and although it tries to reach and involve the masses, their participation is marginal.

The study has provided the historical and socio-political background in which the media have developed in order to show, where there are any, possible positive signs for the growth of the community media and alternative media systems. The development thrust and its emphasis on regionalization and decentralization is one positive sign in this direction. Likewise, the emphasis on the revival of traditional culture found in music, theatre, and other arts is another positive sign, as the latter could provide the software for community media. The transition into post-martial law has renewed interest in reviving several community newspapers and radio stations which have closed down because of political or economic reasons.

The present mass media situation in the country can be described as having certain inherent weaknesses which provide the entry points for future interventions. Among these are the following:-

elite orientation; over/centralization; emphasis on the hardware, production and delivery aspects and less emphasis on the software (developmental quality) and its utilization; primarily under private ownership, the latter representing powerful business and political interests; inadequate enforcement of codes of conduct; inadequate training of staff. Present policy structure is sectoral and lacks a unifying communication policy structure; while self-regulatory, the existing media groups are not able to exercise adequate control over the practices of the practitioners; opportunities for the media to utilize the existing body of knowledge are lacking.

The present trend in the dispersal of newspapers and broadcast stations to the region is a positive indication of the desire to decentralize media activities. However, many of these local stations are relay stations that carry central network programmes. This trend will continue as more domestic satellite operations are set up. The local newspapers are likewise

dependent on national and international wire services. Any further restructuring of the mass media system would therefore be concerned with the development of the capability of the local community to manage the content and uses of the media to provide a more effective support for community development.

The existing structure of training institutions is hampered by financial constraints and the lack of a policy support for the restructuring of their curricula. Thus, there is a recognized need for new institutions to train media practitioners so that they can take up roles in the new 'international information and communication order'. The lack of trained personnel has been shown in the quality of the current media news and programme content which are primarily entertainment-oriented and 'anti-developmental'. A large percentage of mass media programmes have tended to whet consumer appetites rather than productivity and have held alien heroes and values as models to be emulated instead of supporting the emergence of a national cultural identity.

Structural changes in the system of ownership and control, training, content and flow of information are needed. These require explicit communication policies, institutional innovations, and a supportive public administrative system.

The changes must therefore start at the base--the masses. The principles, goals and processes must be absorbed and digested. The people must realize their problems either as individuals or as a group. The people must be made to believe that the initiatives are primarily theirs and not the government's. But better still, the government should support community activities which are locally initiated particularly if they help the people grow in capability for self-management.

The media provide the interactive mechanism between the government and the people. This continuing interaction increases people's capacities for communication and perception. Thus, mediation and surveillance vis-à-vis certain social and political issues are vital roles which communication media play in resolving conflicts, irregularities and inconsistencies. In the rural areas, community media have been shown to be effective as mediators between the planners and the people. In some urban communities, the small media are also shown to be effective in mobilizing people towards decision-making on community issues.

The study has shown that in view of the present state of mass media ownership and control (where media are owned primarily by big business enterprises), there is a need to turn to alternative media systems. Urban community media, initiated and organized by concerned citizens' groups may provide this alternative media system which would support urban community needs. These alternative media, although community-initiated, could be integrated with the larger mass media which are either commercially- or government-owned. As development is the concern of the government, big business and the people, all three sectors would see the importance of maximum utilization of the communication resources in support of development.

The advantages of urban community media are their credibility, their accessibility, their orientation to people's priority needs and problems, and the opportunity they provide for greater dialogue between the various sectors. On the other hand, they are limited by circulation and reach, by inadequate resources, and by inadequate policy support for their activities.

Finally, it is anticipated that community media in the Philippines will move along the direction of urban-rural development. This means that the trend towards 'demassification' will occur first in the highly urban and populated areas to first, the growth centres which are now being developed in the more urban towns and cities, and later, to the rural towns. The reasons are primarily due to the present emphasis on the development of urban areas such as the growth centres and industrial estates as well as economic.

So long as the present situation remains where the broadcast and newspaper industries in the community are dependent on expensive hardware, and so long as they have to compete with media software from the urban centres which are technically better produced, community broadcast and newspaper media will continue to be relatively ineffectual as information or entertainment tools. Any further change in their present make-up or function will therefore depend on policy and structural reforms. New developments in communication technology will mean wider

coverage and reach but do not answer the problem of relevance and suitability to the divergent needs of community and interest groups throughout the country. These new developments however provide a challenge to develop mechanisms by which the software of high-cost media is linked to the different needs of the communities. At the same time developments in low-cost communication technology such as offset and silk-screen printing and traditional media such as theatre and folk media provide alternative opportunities for community communications.

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CONCLUSION

The foregoing studies have described the application of media in a particular kind of way to the phenomenon of urbanization in the Third World. The 'particular kind of way', encapsulated in the phrase 'community media', turns out to be nothing other than democratic-- respecting the rights of people as subjects and participants in the actions and processes in which communications media are involved. Whether applied in rural or urban contexts, this approach can use traditional or modern media, the latter including technologies as complex and costly as space satellites or broadband cable systems. The prefix 'community' asserts an emphasis on the rights and, in many cases, the prior claims of local systems, populations and groupings over against the larger units of nation, region or trans-national corporation. 'Community' also signals its origin in a particular moment of history, the mid-1960s in the industrialized West, at a prosperous stage of capitalism when the state could afford to tolerate and contain decentralized initiatives.

One must ask: are such initiatives viable under governments where dissent is less tolerated or in the harsher economic climate of the 1980s? The studies published here can give only a partial answer, for the Soviet-aligned communist bloc is not represented, nor China, nor any socialist countries except Yugoslavia. (France's media policy had not been made clear at the time of writing). What is clear is the presence in all the countries that are represented here of mass media systems shaped by the Western world; most of the communist media projects surveyed are at the least alternative; in some cases they represent oppositional cultural practices whose stance is shaped by the insensitivity or perceived failure of the mass media. All community media activity is an open or implied criticism of mass media, whose dominant codes are so established that whole sections of the population accept the image and valuation placed on them by press, broadcasting and advertising. Because of this many community media projects find that reading and deconstruction of mass media messages is an essential part of their task, one which then proceeds to offer instead a redefinition or rediscovery of culture and cultural product, and ultimately, a restoration of human worth and dignity.

In the space within which they operate, it is possible for community media practitioners to offer power to people who have been robbed of it by the socio-political conditions, as well as robbed of their own image by the stereotyped distortions (or the total omissions) of the mass media. That power has to be negotiated with the state within the limits considered acceptable, and this is the most difficult problem for community media. Some of the best success stories are those where a head of state or a very senior official encourages the local initiative. But the diplomatic and tenacious use of 'political space' can also enable projects to survive under less sympathetic regimes. For in the end the state needs local initiatives. 'People cannot be developed, they can only develop themselves.' If President Nyerere's words are taken to heart, then community media have a vital role to play in national planning and in the preservation of national identities faced with the new relationships created by developments in international capital and communication technology. If the penetration of national media systems by trans-national or international agencies is to some extent inevitable, at least at the local and community level local culture can and must be defended.

It follows that technical and administrative arrangements (for example, allocation of frequencies or the co-ordination of responsibilities between separate government departments) must allow space for this local activity. At this level, too, cultural and economic considerations closely interwine, and when one asks about the future economic viability of the kinds of project described here, something else must be required of the state other than simply the toleration of local, perhaps dissenting expression. That is, the creation of conditions which allow such projects to fulfil a productive function in the local economy, whether through job creation or the production of goods and services which ensure a continued existence largely but not wholly independent of national or international support. 'Largely but not wholly' because the time has come for community media to be regarded as a local public amenity, as essential as transport, housing, health and education. If the survival of such media is essential to protect the local community against the cultural erosion of multinational influence, then there must be both local commitment and a guarantee of support from the state. Left entirely

to themselves community media might not survive commercial pressures. Theirs in microcosm is the dilemma of public service broadcasting at national level.

A proposal of a group of Asian editors and journalists is important and relevant here. Meeting in Manila in 1980 to discuss among other matters the recent publication of the MacBride Report they proposed that a 'certain proportion of the profit from private and public media enterprises be channelled, either voluntarily or through a tax levy, into an independent national endowment for financial assistance to alternative media enterprises.'[1] If the state's responsibility is recognized, then other proposals mentioned in the studies, such as the development of managerial capabilities in community media projects and relevant training in schools of communication, should be less difficult to implement.

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1. Philippines Daily Express, September 9, 1980

APPENDIX

Extract from Final Report of the Urban Community Media Consultation, Unesco, Paris, October 1980

Proposals for related activities

In addition to the publication of the case studies, the following activities were considered as worthy of undertaking:

1. Enhance informal contacts between persons interested in the field of urban community media; particularly practitioners, students of the media, community organizers, urban planners and governments. This can best be achieved by compiling a bibliography of publications in the field, including a glossary of community media terminology, and creating lists of organizations involved in community media projects, research and funding. It is suggested that a conference should be arranged of community media practitioners whose efforts have been determined to be particularly meaningful by our urban community media studies group (particularly with regard to furthering of the processes of urban community media and the role of the facilitator).

2. Publish a brief (perhaps twenty-page) report, translated into several languages summarizing the concept of urban community media, reviewing the efforts and conclusions of our conference. This brief report would be distributed by Unesco to urban planners, and governments and made available to other persons interested or working in the field of urban community media.

3. The development of visual and audio support materials representative of significant community media efforts in different regions of the world. These support materials would give the written descriptions of community media a most valuable dimension: the capability for an outsider to experience the media as closely as possible, to learn from it and possibly apply it if appropriate. It has been suggested that if the study budget does not allow for this effort, the final report should be mimeographed as opposed to being published so as to conserve and reallocate funds to a video/audio component of the study.

4. A special set of guidelines for instituting community media efforts should be developed that would be directed toward urban planners. These guidelines would take the role of the planner into special consideration when introducing and discussing implementation of community media projects. Another set of guidelines would be prepared for the community organizer who is actually working with communities in the field.

5. Curriculum support materials are needed. These materials would include study guides, learning syllabi, training materials concerning media and programmes of study directed towards their use as a community information sharing tool.

6. Publication of a journal promoting participatory media democracy.

7. Greater exchange of information among trainers and the support of existing research and training together with the establishment of new regional centres.

Proposals for future activities and research programmes

Apart from the present project, related activities and research programmes were also proposed as follows:

1. Promotion of decentralization of mass media and encouragement of community media,

2. Inclusion of community media as an item in conference on communication policies;

3. Exploration of the possibility of joint programmes in communication and social sciences so that social and communication needs can be studied in courses.

4. Creation of mechanisms for interchange of information on community media through a data bank and newsletters.

5. Planning of joint projects between Unesco and other organizations to promote urban community media.

6. Further research on the social impact of community media.

7. Encouragement of support for community media institutions.

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